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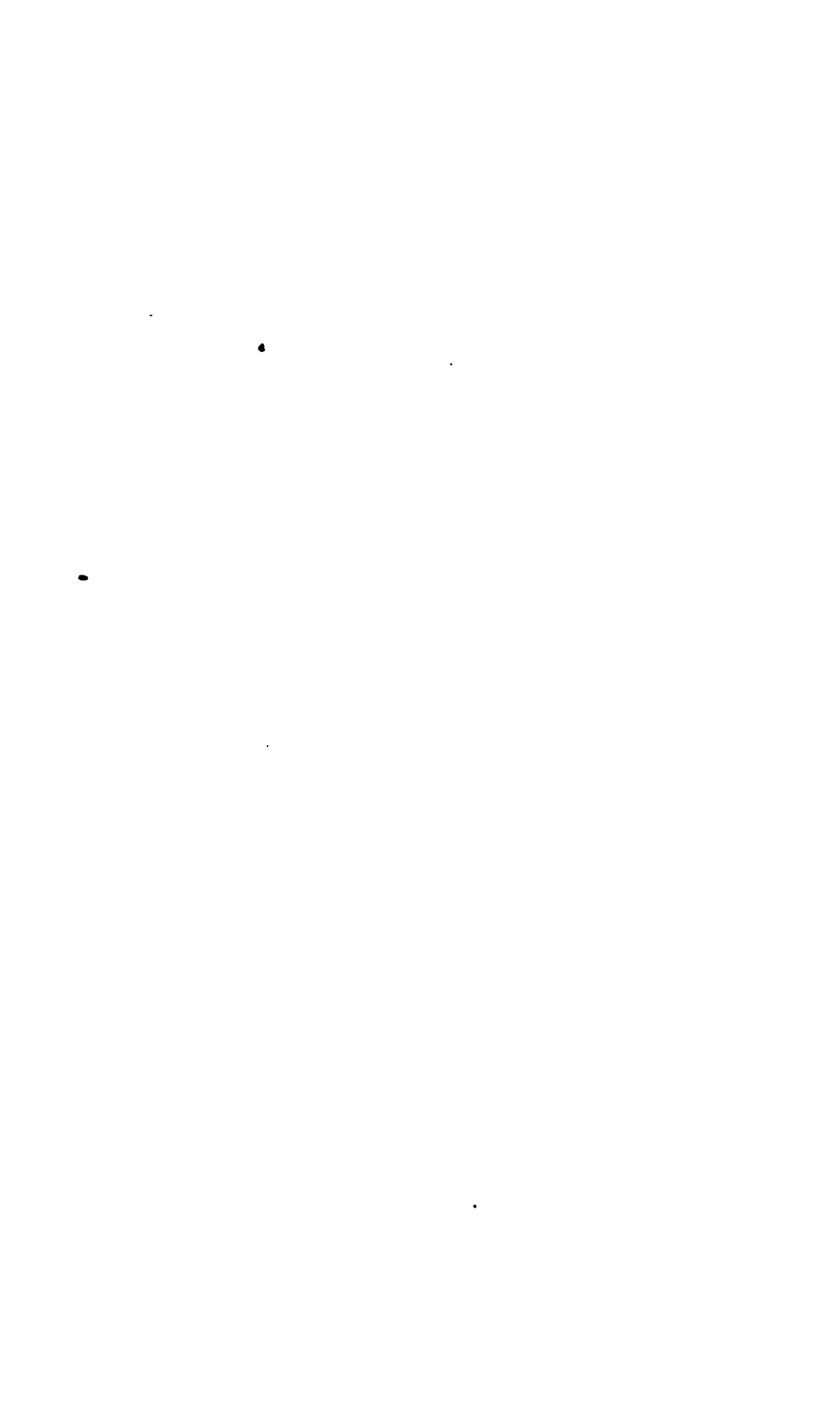
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*Prof. J. Bowen*











# A U S T R I A.







# A U S T R I A.

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BY

EDWARD P. THOMPSON, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"LIFE IN RUSSIA ; OR, THE DISCIPLINE OF DESPOTISM."

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## PREFACE.

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THE Author of the following pages, although familiar with Germany from early associations, felt, on entering Austria, how little he understood of the institutions and policy of the empire, and how many false impressions he had entertained with respect to them. Circumstances of a peculiar nature, connected with the object of his visit, threw him among men who could not only enlighten his ideas, but were themselves, in some instances, persons of authority and influence; and he accordingly determined to avail himself of the opportunity to collect, through their means and assistance, the information he was so anxious to obtain. To them, therefore, and to some anonymous writers to whom he was referred, he is indebted for much of the matter

of this Work, which he is induced to make public, partly because he knows that many of his countrymen labour under the same difficulties which he experienced, and partly because the subject is one of great interest at this moment, when Austria is passing through the critical ordeal of re-organisation. He is perfectly satisfied that he has not advanced beyond the threshold of the subject, and that there is ample scope for abler and more experienced pens to fill up the picture of which he has given the mere outline.

London, November, 1848.

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$$21 \div 176 = 4\frac{3}{5}$$

$$21 \div 176 = \frac{21}{176} = \frac{3}{24} = \frac{1}{8} = 2\frac{1}{8}$$

# AUSTRIA.

---

## EXTENT AND POPULATION.

THE Austrian Empire consists of eight kingdoms, one grand duchy, four duchies, one principality, one sovereign earldom, and one markgrate; and covers an extent of 12,167 square miles \*, of which the kingdom of Hungary claims nearly one-half. Austria thus occupies nearly one-thirteenth part of the continent of Europe, and maintains in this respect the third rank among its various states, yielding only in extent of territory to Russia, and to the united kingdoms of Sweden and Norway; the former containing 75,150, and the latter 13,760 square miles. Its population of thirty-nine millions places it second among the nations of Europe, of which it thus commands one-sixth of the inhabitants. Its yearly increase is, however, far inferior to that of other equally favoured countries, being in fact only  $1\frac{1}{10}$ th per cent., and previously to 1837 it only amounted to  $\frac{1}{8}$ th per cent. Two of the provinces in particular,

\* Geographical miles.

namely, Lower Austria and Styria, have shown a decadency in the space of twenty-five years, the former to the extent of 104,588, and the latter of 54,350 souls. This may be ascribed to physical causes, and to the extreme unhealthiness of the districts. In Vienna alone the deaths exceed the births; but the population is still slightly on the increase, from the addition of new residents from other parts. Diseases of the lungs, which are distinguished as *Lungensucht* and *Entzündung der Lunge*, make the most fearful ravages, equal to 37 per cent. on the whole mortality of the capital. The returns of one hospital, that of the Barmherzigen Brüder, prove that in the year 1846, 4070 patients were admitted, and out of 344 deaths 129 were from diseases of the lungs.

On a careful analysis of the statistical tables with regard to the various provinces, the singular fact presents itself, that the increase of the population is greatest in those where the inhabitants are of Slavonian descent; such at least is the result of a comparison between Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and the Coast-lands, with the provinces of German and Italian origin.

Although with respect to its population generally Austria stands the second in Europe, it is not so as regards the density of its inhabitants; for, however well-peopled, it is yet in comparison infinitely behind Belgium, Saxony, Würtemberg, Holland, Baden, Great Britain, France, and all

the Italian States. In the year 1837, the inhabitants, exclusive of the military, on each square mile, were as follows :

Lombardy	-	-	6104	Styria	-	-	-	2299
Venice	-	-	4823	Carynthia and Car-				
Bohemia	-	-	4204	niola	-	-	-	1903
Moravia and Silesia	-	-	4174	Transylvania	-	-	-	1953
Lower Austria	-	-	3701	Military Frontiers	-	-	-	1635
Coast-lands	-	-	3183	Dalmatia	-	-	-	1506
Galicia	-	-	2821	Tyrol				
Hungary	-	-	2659	Vorarlberg	}	-	-	1579
Upper Austria	-	-	2420					

giving only an average of 3009 persons. /143/

This population is chiefly residentiary and attached to its locality ; but in a country so diversified in soil and character, in whose remote corners and wild districts civilisation, at least with its softening influence, has not yet reached, it is not to be wondered at that some traces of nomadic life should still be found. It is principally confined to the Zigeuner or Gypsies, and to the Hungarian herdsmen, who, with their charge of horses, sheep, and swine, wander over the plains, and either live entirely without the shelter of a roof, or protect themselves in little hovels of mud thrown up in their progress.

The united Austrian empire, in respect to its derivation and language, may be divided into four main stems, connected with which are six other races, which may be termed the collateral



branches. The former are the Germans, the Slaves, the Italians, and the Hungarians (Magyars); and the latter, the Wallachians, the Jews, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Albanians, and the Zigeuner.

Previous to the great popular migrations, Austria possessed a national character in its inhabitants; who, in the course of successive centuries, received considerable additions from other races, which settled themselves among them, whenever the interests of the land did not resist them. This mixture with the ancient inhabitants reduced naturally the conformity of the mass, with reference to its descent and language, and produced that blended population which is now to be met with throughout the empire.

The greatest similarity is found in the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice, and in the Grand Duchy of Austria; the inhabitants of the former being almost entirely Italian, and of the latter, German. It is in Hungary that the greatest mixture of races exists, as the great stream of migration flowed in that direction; so much so, indeed, that besides its four leading divisions, namely, the Hungarian, Sclavonian, German, and Wallachian, twelve other races and languages are identified, and surround the pure Magyar with people foreign to him both in blood and speech. The tide of population from other countries, such as Bohemia, Moravia, Swabia, the German States,

and even from Serbia and Turkey, continued flowing into Hungary and the military frontiers for several successive centuries; and between the years of 1765 and 1789, not less than 17,000 families settled themselves on the national domains in the Banat. Galicia, although strictly a Sclavonian nation, reckons nine distinct races in its limits, of which the Poles inhabit the west, the Ruthians the east; the Moldavians the Bukowina; and Jews, Germans, Armenians, Hungarians, and Zigeuner are spread over the country. Transylvania reckons only three head races (Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons); but it has been long a harbour for Wallachians, Poles, Servians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Bulgarians, and Zigeuner.

This slight view of some of the principal provinces of the empire presents thus a most varied aspect; and it has naturally ensued, that its original features have derived a certain tone and colouring from surrounding objects.

## STATE POLICY

THREE distinct and widely differing systems of policy have been introduced into the government of Austria in the course of the last hundred years. That of the Empress Maria Theresa, who was named the mother of her country, was distinguished for its boldness and energy, and that of the Emperor Joseph for its philanthropy and liberality; but, notwithstanding the advantages Joseph conferred on his subjects by abolishing the system of vassalage, by conceding the liberty of the press, and by disclaiming all secular submission to the see of Rome, together with the suppression of many monasteries, and the regulation of others, whereby he relieved the burthens and exactions on the land, his principles of reform had not taken sufficient root in the soil to survive his decease. These two systems grew out of the circumstances of the time, and a clear insight into the wants of the people; but the operation of foreign events, added to the natural dispositions of the succeeding sovereigns, caused those monarchs to believe that the safety of the state and of their own interests required a movement in a contrary direction, and accordingly a retrograde system was introduced, and the popular reforms of Joseph

were annulled. The alarm of the French Revolution, and the by no means groundless fears of its effects on the German Empire, made a deep impression on the minds of the ruling powers; who became sensible of impending dangers, of which, even at a later day, some few indications were manifest. In the state of terror that supervened, the government grew suspicious of the people, whom they considered prone to perpetrate every crime, and whom the nobles and clergy did not hesitate to denounce as robbers and tyrants, and the source of every possible danger; against which they proclaimed themselves to be the only safeguards. In order, therefore, to keep the people in check, the privileged classes were to be raised, conciliated, and supported; and to this end the whole system of administration was changed, and a complete revolution effected in the plans of reform begun by Joseph. It was laid down as a settled principle, that the preservation of the status quo should be the unchangeable rule for the future; that the inviolability of their property and of their full rights should be guaranteed to the possessors of estates; that no further invasion of their rights and possessions should be made by the state; and that thenceforth the privileges of the lords of the soil should be the foundation of all rules of government, and its guide in the protection of national rights.

From this period the state became nothing more than a guardian institution for the benefit of the titles, privileges, and possessions of the great land-holders; and on this the system of legislation was settled, and its political course adopted. The nobles by descent, whose powers Joseph had limited in proportion to the rank they held, now tacitly obtained a greater degree of personal freedom than they had ever before enjoyed; at the same time they secured the valuable prerogative of filling exclusively the different offices of the state, and thus appropriated to themselves the first post in every branch of the administration. Their influence with the court and with the government was again as powerful as it had been in former times: their favour became the only passport to advancement, and their displeasure was dreaded as the worst of human afflictions. Leagued with the clergy, they constituted themselves the especial guardians and supporters of the throne; against which, as they imagined and pretended, the people were hostile and meditated mischief. Both the nobles and clergy were decreed to be inviolable from all strictures of the press—an indulgence as ill-advised as it was injurious; for, in the absence of all restriction and responsibility, the nobles became overbearing, and the clergy negligent of their duties.

The people, who had been raised by the humane and philanthropical considerations of Joseph from

a condition of slavish dependence to a state of freedom, and were permitted to aspire to the highest honours, alarmed and intimidated at this sudden change of principle in the state, submitted in silence to the yoke again imposed on them. They were required to observe a demeanour passive towards the government, placing a blind and unlimited confidence in its wisdom, and submitting to its commands with prompt and patient obedience. The relations between the sovereign and the people were re-instated on the plan of a family compact; the principle of a paternal government being substituted for the ultra-liberal scheme of Joseph. The burgher class was required to depend on itself for its own development and advancement, receiving generally as its reward the promotion of some of its successful members into the lower ranks of nobility; but at the same time so many concessions were exacted from it, that it became more difficult than ever for the middle class to contend against the predominating influence of the aristocracy.

By the adoption of the so-called "conservative system," the government, probably without being aware of the fact, virtually excluded itself from all participation in and interference with the social development of the state; for the concessions it had made in favour of certain privileged classes proved more influential than the power it had vested in them.

It is certain that the government which has secured the enjoyment of a privilege to any one class, can never succeed in effecting a change, without encountering so much difficulty and labour that it finds itself compelled either to abandon the idea altogether, or to postpone it to some more favourable opportunity. Under the conservative system, when the common weal requires a sacrifice, it can only be obtained by a request, and never by a demand; for when it is thought expedient to pull down some portions of the edifice of the state to introduce improvements, the principles on which the system is based present an effectual barrier to the work of renovation. The axiom of adhering firmly to a principle, because it either already exists, and is therefore supposed to be founded on justice, or because it is framed to meet future contingencies, and is therefore considered expedient, restricts the state from proceeding in the right direction, inasmuch as it arrests the onward movement of society, and prevents the development of national characteristics; thus converting an actually existing temperament into a stationary and unvarying machine. It is impossible to combine both systems; for if the status quo be guaranteed, there are no means of infringing upon the restrictions which support it, even when the pressure of circumstances or the public good may render such a step of incalculable importance. The impediment to change

which the conservative system presents under such circumstances, becomes therefore the necessary apology for inactivity when policy requires exertion; and this plea is advanced to excuse an injustice which causes actual injury to individual as well as to general interests.

The reforms of Maria Theresa and of Joseph, in so far as they related to the agricultural and labouring interests, were not completed when those sovereigns respectively terminated their careers. Their two successors, Leopold and Francis, who should have matured and carried those reforms into active operation, were too much wedded to their own conservative systems to give them any attention; and hence the imposts which should have been removed seventy years since, are still unrepealed. But the question of reform, which received no inconsiderable momentum by the disturbances in Galicia, has gained such strength by the success of the popular movements now convulsing various parts of Europe, as to have exceeded the calculations of such remotely possible events; exposing at the same time in the fullest and most complete manner the fundamental error of the system, and rendering the settlement of the question, and the repeal of the obnoxious imposts and restrictions, certain. Impediments, as just exemplified, arising out of the exclusive policy of a state through the conservative system, may become most mischiev



ous at any moment, and prove even more dangerous than rash experiments under a liberal system. Rigid conservatism occasions questions of the most vital importance to the state to be postponed from time to time, their consideration being passed on from one government to another, till at last they accumulate to such an extent that there is no possibility of disentangling the complication of interests, or of adjusting the balance of claims equitably, without injury or accident; though cases often occur where apparently no advice nor assistance are available, which yet are eventually settled by patient and untiring perseverance. Half measures — admissible, if at all, only in matters of secondary importance — create greater difficulties in affairs of a higher and more urgent character.

In the application of the conservative system a “paternal government” has always two contending parties to deal with; the one laying an exclusive claim to its protection, and the other protesting against a protection so injurious to its interests; and hence it follows that a rigid adherence to such a system is injurious to the interests of a whole community, while it essentially benefits those of individuals and of separate societies only at the expense of others.

The Emperor Leopold adopted the conservative policy as the only expedient whereby he could silence the remonstrances of the privileged classes,

who had been opposed to Joseph's plan of reform; and his measures, therefore, only benefited the dignitaries in church and state, without regard to the people and their claims. Joseph would never have granted the concessions made to the opposition of the nobles and the clergy, even at the risk of their rising in open rebellion. It would have been sufficient for Leopold to have paused in the work of what he considered to be a hasty and too violent reform, and to have suspended its completion to a later period; but he altogether abandoned the idea, not only of total, but of progressive reform, and thus entailed an evil of the greatest magnitude on the state; for his guarantee of the status quo to the nobles and clergy was considered binding by his successors, and has, together with the whole policy of government, been most tenaciously adhered to by them.

A new era arose in 1815, when, secure in the settlement of Europe by the peace, it would have been easy for the Austrian government to have taken up the subject of reform. It had been stifled since the year 1790, and the people, then ripe for such a measure, would have hailed it with delight, as the reward of their long suffering at home and of their gallant exertions in the field. The higher classes would not even have offered that opposition to the abolishment of the exclusive system of conservatism, which was apprehended; for the more thinking and better

informed amongst them acknowledged that such an order of things could not long continue, and that its abrogation would be far less injurious to their vested rights than their ancestors had believed.

It would be judging falsely of the Emperor Leopold, and indeed be doing an injustice to his memory, to attribute the suppression of all social reform to him; for, though deeply mistaken in his views and opinions, his motives were not of a personal nature. Francis also, with the most upright and honest intentions, wished to promote the public good; but he could not persuade himself that any other policy would be for the better. Nor was this opinion by any means grounded on the belief that it was the most easy to carry out; for he experienced more interruptions and impediments by clinging to it, than the most complete change and widest departure from it would have occasioned. Hollow political theories, wild dreams of freedom, and other visionary speculations of the times served only to confirm his opinion; and it was only by maintaining the existing order of things, which he held to be the only safe course, that he believed it possible to secure his subjects from being led astray by speculative ideas, and from entertaining notions of a constitutional form of government.

With few exceptions this opinion of the Emperor's was shared by all of the higher classes. It

was believed that the profound order and tranquillity which reigned throughout the empire, afforded the most complete compensation for every complaint ; but the consideration was lost sight of, that no restriction is so galling as that of freedom. It would be a wide departure from the truth to ascribe to the Emperor Francis an attempt at absolutism ; for the opinions which he professed, with the utmost sincerity and conviction, had been formed on the experience of both theory and practice ; as was abundantly proved by the public announcement repeatedly inserted in the Augsburg newspaper (*Allgemeine Zeitung*) immediately on his accession, "that things would remain as they were"—("alles beim alten bleiben werde").

It is by no means surprising that an erroneous impression prevailed as to the mind and wishes of the people. Oppressed and kept in subjection by the higher classes, deprived by the suppression of the liberty of the press of the power of expressing their opinions, misrepresented in the councils, and intimidated by the presence of secret spies, they had no means of making their voice heard, while they laboured under the additional evil of having their feelings and conduct judged of through the medium of the impressions and ideas of the nobles.

History can hardly find a parallel in its pages to the loyalty and devotion of the whole Austrian

empire to its sovereign, to the immense sacrifices it made during the long continuance of a bloody and unfortunate war, and to the deep wounds it received and bore with such exemplary patience, though it nearly perished under them. And yet this people was misunderstood by its rulers! Is it a question who strengthened the convictions of the Emperor Francis, and by degrees confirmed his opinion respecting the danger to be apprehended from the people, their desire for a change in the form of government, and the necessity of establishing the most severe restrictions, in order to curb their spirit of inquiry and their active intelligence? It was not accomplished by individual agency, but by the great body of the aristocracy, united as one man in purpose and determination.

As long as the system exists, this strife between the privileged and unprivileged classes will endure, and proofs of it are stamped in almost every page of Austrian history. The Emperor Joseph by his reforms quelled the feud for a time; but after his decease it broke out in a new form, with better selected points of attack, and more subtle and secret modes of proceeding. The opportune outbreak of the first French Revolution furnished at once an irresistible argument to the aristocracy, and enabled them to say, "Judge now, O princes, who are your friends and who your enemies! The people, bursting through

all law and restraint, overthrow your thrones and sweep away both you and us in their reckless desire of liberty. Our cause, therefore, becomes yours, and we must act in concert against the common enemy. We are your only firm supports, and should you fail to uphold our order, a common destruction awaits us both." What was easier, after the occurrence of the fearful events in France, than to awaken and excite apprehensions of a rising of the people! The Emperor Francis, however, saw that the loudly vaunted attachment to his person was nothing but a covering to the basest selfishness, and he was by no means disposed to place a blind reliance in the counsel and professions of the nobles. Taught by sad experience, and the bitter recollections of misplaced confidence, he determined not to declare himself exclusively for either party, and adopting the example of Leopold, he took the middle course; but unfortunately his success was not commensurate with his intentions. The balance of his opinions inclined itself decidedly in favour of the aristocracy, who, while the people had no remedy in their power, threw the whole of their preponderating influence into the scale, and weighed it down.

Austria, from the year 1820, became the most consummate place-ridden and police-governed state in Europe. Through a system of overlegislation, and the attempt of the government to ex-

ercise minute supervision and control, the social condition of the people, public instruction, scientific research, and even the labours of the clergy, became, as it were, paralysed. Instead of local self-dependent governing bodies, useful in their several spheres, and beneficial in their operations, the concerns of the whole empire were engrossed in the ramifications of a bureaucratic system, which, Briareus-like, folded it in its vast embrace. Whatever falls within the scope of human exertions, and is attainable by freedom of action; every thing, indeed, short of actual accomplishment, was made to pass through the ordeal of the conservative system; and whatever opposed itself to that system, was broken up and divided, and its parts fitted and adapted to the complicated mechanism of the state machine. There remained at last no relation in life which was not moulded to an artificial form, and which, from being curbed by government discipline and cramped by routine formalities, was not brought into a state of political pupillage. This was particularly the case with education, the leading principle of which was made to consist in guarding the mind against the danger of entertaining political errors, instead of encouraging its full development by free exercise of the faculties and well-regulated self-dependence. The routine of instruction was officially prescribed, without permitting the teachers to exercise the slightest discretion; and a

strict surveillance prevented any departure from the government regulations. Much instruction, even of a religious nature, properly belonging to the course of education, was either mutilated or altogether suppressed, in order that no idea might be awakened, which would direct attention to the system pursued. Intellectual development and the sharpening of the faculties by practice, tending to acuteness of perception and keenness of judgment, and the application of talents and acquirements to the higher regions of thought, were altogether forbidden; indeed, singular as it may appear, it was not even permitted to elucidate the actually established political system; the dreaded discovery of whose weakness was carefully guarded against by purging the language of common usage from all dangerous words and expressions. The words, "*popular rights*," "*popular opinion*," "*public spirit*," and "*nationality*," were entirely suppressed by the censorship, and even the term *patriotism* appeared to be only tolerated in its German sense. The people, in their political capacity, were not allowed to raise themselves from the lowest grades of subjection and dependence to the higher ranks of citizenship, much less to those of the state, but were required to confine themselves and their remarks to that which purely concerned them as submissive subjects, obedient to the sovereign, who regulated the several degrees of society, and the relations be-



tween the governor and governed. In the well-turned phrases of official language, this relation was invariably described as *paternal* and *filial*, and in all state transactions connected with the government, no other terms were allowed but "*your grace*," "*supreme grace*," "*most gracious*," without any consideration whether such expressions corresponded with the object proposed, and were so appreciated by the people. The enforced submission of the people was called "*duty*," "*filial confidence*," "*passive obedience*;" and the mere idea, that when regulations were made, there existed necessarily the right that the people should also be considered, was branded as a revolutionary proposition, fraught with danger to the state. The bureaucrats, who devised and gave publicity to these doctrines, declared besides that the so-called rights of the people, and even of mankind, were the ravings of insanity: that the sovereign was accountable for his actions and administration to God alone, while the people owed him unlimited obedience and unconditional submission. As a natural consequence of such principles, the term *nationality* became synonymous with that of revolution, and their identity was declared. In short, the people were considered as an animal mass, created for the will and pleasure of the state; and the doctrines that every man has a destiny of his own to fulfil, and that a state is instituted for the people, and

not the people for the state, were no more conceded than the right of individuals to a political existence. *Every thing must be governed.*

It was fondly imagined that the propagation of these principles, having a comprehensive political object, would become of the most essential service to the monarchical system, as the people became accustomed to them. Alarmed at nothing so much as at an anxiety for a representative form of government, every favourable opportunity was seized to combat such ideas in every possible way, by setting forth the dangers to which they led, even to the extent of magnifying each little commotion into an insurrection. This plan of supporting the monarchical system was necessarily erroneous, because it established claims to which monarchy had no pretensions, and which bordered so closely on absolutism, that they could easily be substituted for it; which, in fact, was the case. The feverish dread of a desire on the part of the people for a constitutional form of government was equally groundless; because the more clear-sighted and intelligent portion of the community felt how little such a system was adapted to Austria, and the great mass of the people had sunk into such a state of apathetic indifference and passive inertness as to be unequal to form an opinion on the subject.

It would almost seem that the stagnant state of mind which the government attempted to in-

duce in the people, existed also absolutely in itself; or so low an estimate was formed of human nature, that this most erroneous policy was adopted to divert the public from the contemplation of a representative government. Instead of seeking to occupy the minds of the people with material ideas of profit and enjoyment, which are ever of a precarious tenure, it should have directed them to the study of politics; and a degree of excitement having been thus raised instead of being suppressed, they might have been led to the conviction that a constitutional form of government would be a source of evil to the heterogeneous composition of the empire. Every one acquainted with the strong common sense of the Austrian people must admit, that there would have been no risk in this mode of proceeding, which would have produced the firmest conviction; whereas the endeavour to divert public attention from the question, and to give it an entirely opposite direction, coupled with the most passive submission, was in reality a dangerous experiment. It is natural for a people, restricted from all freedom of thought and speech, to feel a want of confidence in approaching a subject which is either carefully interdicted to it, or represented to it in the worst possible light; and indeed the opinion formed from a consideration of it under such circumstances, would be quite sufficient to give an impulse in a direction

diametrically opposite to the one intended, particularly when an enquiry came to be made into the reason of the proceeding.

These prohibitions and restrictions signally failed in their operation on the minds of the people, more so than had ever been contemplated by the government. It is most certain that a craving after an extension of popular rights and public freedom is more easily excited in a nation when the pressure of an ever-increasing bondage begins to be insupportable. Dislike to the existing order of things, and dissatisfaction with their unnatural arrangement, inevitably lead to a desire for change; and it is then too late for the most vigilant circumspection and the most despotic power to confine the restless spirit within prescribed bounds. It may be possible, perhaps, to avoid a collision, but it is hazardous to allow it to occur, for the reaction must necessarily be fatal to one or the other, and compel the abandonment of the object aimed at, however just and well-intended it may be.

If a comparison be instituted between the apprehension of a popular cry for concessions, and that arising from the determination of the nobles to observe the status quo, a most extraordinary contradiction presents itself, between submission to restrictions on the one side, and decided opposition on the other; a contradiction which is not to be found elsewhere in the whole

range of modern history. The solution of the paradox is manifest. Every indulgence granted to the people, every improvement made in their condition, every extension of their freedom, would have been an invasion of the guaranteed status quo, a diminution of the privileges, and an abatement of the influence of the aristocracy. It may be a question which party was most interested in postponing the occurrence of such a contingency to the latest possible period. Apparently it was the aristocracy, who would have lost all they had gained by the strenuous promotion of their system, but to which they could have no pretensions by right. Clear-sighted enough to perceive that a foundation composed chiefly of extorted concessions would bear no very lasting superstructure, the aristocracy felt the necessity of securing its durability for the longest possible period; and this they effected by constructing a dam against the current of popular ideas; but dreading always a breach of the embankment by the accumulated force of opinion, they continued to add to their defences and to strengthen them by every imaginable device. Thus intrenched, they thought themselves secure from the encroachments of the advancing tide. It was, however, of great importance that they should avoid the appearance of all personal interference, and that others, therefore, should carry out their plans. Thus they recounted the dangers before which they trembled

to the throne and to the altar, and succeeded in affiliating their scheme upon the government. They secured its active co-operation by affirming that the danger to the monarchical principle was imminent, and by insisting that the severest system of repression was necessary for its protection. The high aristocracy and the high bureaucracy are identical; but it would be difficult to determine whether the latter are the greater aristocrats, or the former the greater bureaucrats.

In the present day the aristocratical party has raised, in the most unguarded manner, the veil which had so long concealed their secret machinations. The death of Count Clam-Martinitz, whom they had been in the habit of regarding, with great reason, as the chief supporter of their cause, and on whom all their hopes of the future had rested, was a source of deep sorrow and regret to them. They incontinently revealed their grasping tendencies of the moment, and their ambitious dreams of the future; and their lamentations were increased by the reflection that there was no one among them to replace his loss. Disappointed that their project of aggrandizement did not advance with the rapidity which had been hitherto confidently expected, a leader suddenly stepped out from among them, and in a work called "Austria and its Futurity,"\* betrayed without disguise or precaution all that the aristo-

\* Oesterreich und seine Zukunft.

cratical party had contended against, all that it had failed in, and all that it had proposed to carry out by open rebellion. This work tears off boldly and completely the mask which had for so long a time concealed their designs, and exposes the true aspect of an aggressive aristocracy. It is the well-known figure of the feudal tyrant and rebellious vassal of the middle ages, glancing fiery red with passion at the unsuccessful issue of his tyranny.}]

*"We will no longer remain contented,"* says this writer, speaking on behalf of his order, *"with what we have: the monopoly of official situations and the guarantee of the status quo are by far too miserable prerogatives for us. We claim a share of power. We, the vassals of the crown, must henceforth be endowed with the regulating powers of the state, while the executive shall remain vested in the sovereign. With respect to the people, our dependents shall fill the places vacated by the nobles of the land, whose duties henceforth shall consist solely in matters of government, the office of the district governors being altogether abolished. Our prerogatives are totally and permanently inviolable. All laws must emanate from us, the select and illustrious of the land, in whom the authorities of the provinces and of the state are centered; and should these conditions not be accorded, we at once throw down the gauntlet, and will enforce them by open rebellion."*

Such is the language of this mouth-piece of the aristocratical party. "Austria and its Futurity" belongs to the category of those daring challenges which the obstinate vassals and robber-knights of the feudal times sent to their lords. The libel was so eagerly sought after by the nobility, that it speedily ran through three editions; while the people, although at first deceived by the apparent destruction of their interests, and the unblushing invasion of their rights, discovered the imposition at last, and were better prepared than formerly to protect themselves.

No one possessing the key to passing events can doubt but that the rebellious outbreak of the nobles in Galicia had the entire sympathy of the party which the compiler of "Austria and its Futurity" represented. The nobles in general share, in common with their Galician brethren, the same disposition to tyrannise over those both above and beneath them; and hence it requires little penetration to pronounce what would have occurred elsewhere, had the Polish conspiracy succeeded. It is an historical fact, which speaks plainly for itself, that the danger to the monarchical principle, supposed to have been nourished among the popular masses, existed only in the ranks of the nobility; it still exists, and will continue to do so, as long as the Austrian empire lasts.

Recent events and experience justify this con



elusion ; the garb of hypocrisy having been stripped off from the nobles, and the suspicion of popular disaffection instilled by them into the ears of the court, having been manifestly disproved by the fidelity which the people have exhibited, it is clearly demonstrated that injustice was done them : it necessarily follows that the decision on the question can neither be delayed, nor longer remain doubtful and undetermined.

Before altogether dismissing the question of state policy, and in order to give it the consideration it deserves, it is desirable to throw a retrospective glance over past events, and to bring the present ones more clearly before us. It is said that the Emperor Leopold, on his accession to power, issued an order that a written statement should be made to him of all the complaints which had been laid before the former government ; but their number being found to exceed all calculation, he desisted from the attempt. It was indeed an unnecessary step, and served only to gratify the party-spirit of those who aimed at the overthrow of the Emperor Joseph's political structure. Already fully prepossessed against it himself, Leopold took it entirely to pieces, and worked in so many antiquated materials with those he found, that his successor Francis was compelled to restore much of what had been introduced by Joseph. Leopold in effecting this change went further than was required, in order to put down the disturbances

and to calm the excitement which had arisen from Joseph's too rash and headlong advances. He began by making so many concessions to the nobility and the clergy — such as the abolition of Joseph's system of taxation, the re-introduction of the duties regulated by the laws of 1659 and 1763, the suppression of general seminaries, the restoration of mendicant convents, with the right of soliciting alms, &c.—that the various bodies aroused themselves to exertion to enable them to follow the retrograde movement effectually. In the course of the two years which Leopold reigned, so many old laws and institutions were restored, that the establishment of the conservative system became essential to give them permanence. Notwithstanding their numbers, they were in no way disturbed by the Emperor Francis, who put down the least movement of discontent with the most decided energy. His course of legislation proves hence how strongly the power of this system operated on the domestic politics of the country, and how effectually it barred its civil advancement. Thus it is evident that these changes were not introduced from any regard to the public good, but solely to meet the exigencies of the state. If any opposition was offered to the law, or to the system of legislation itself, all general measures in meeting the question were carefully avoided, and a separate course of proceeding was adopted for each case, to the effectual checking of collision, even if any had

occurred. This mode of proceeding was applied in all instances to matters connected with the condition of the peasantry, with whom especially the government was most anxious not to be brought in contact. The Emperor Francis established in almost all the provinces agricultural societies for the improvement of farming and of the management of cattle; but at the same time he so limited their sphere of utility, that every attempt to remove acknowledged grievances in agricultural economy, which interfered with the accomplishment of his object, necessarily fell to the ground: even the propositions of the landholders and of public bodies were sacrificed to the system. It has hence arisen that the interests of the agricultural classes have been utterly neglected from the year 1780 to the present hour, although the settlement of conflicting differences, and the removal of oppressive restrictions have become most urgently necessary.

All the outward acts of the government, tending to the removal of agricultural disadvantages, naturally remain inoperative, while the inward requirements of improvement are wanting. Agriculture—the living principle of a state, and the only source of national prosperity—which will always be to Austria the foundation of her public weal, has retrograded; partly in consequence of a sixty years' neglect, and partly because the proper stimulus has been wanting. The agricultural classes have sunk into a hopeless state of

insolvency, and it is only necessary to ascertain the amount of obligations due in each province to obtain a fearful result.

Joseph had decided that, simultaneously with the establishment of his system of taxation, the agrarian obligations on the land should be converted into a payment of money. Arrangements to this effect had been made, and the removal of the burthens on the labouring classes were in full progress, when the measure of his predecessor was totally annulled by Leopold on his accession in 1790. Matters therefore reverted to their former unsatisfactory state, by which the peasant was precluded from becoming a proprietor, and was limited to the bare enjoyment of the usufruct; paying, besides the great and small tithes, his socage of from 14 to 156 days in the year, ground-rent, the fees for alienation and escheat, wardship, reliefs, and other dues in money and in kind.

The payment of tithes, and the arbitrary amount of socage to be rendered, with other kinds of personal service, are the most oppressive exactions; but these burthens vary so much in different localities, that they are more insupportable in some provinces than in others. The socage of 156 days in the year is unquestionably the most burthensome in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Carnythia, Galicia, and Styria; while in Upper Austria and Salzburg, where it only amounts to 14 days (which are not always insisted on), the pay-

ment of a ten per cent. property-tax has the most injurious effect on the labouring classes, who, together with those of the former provinces, are also subject to the *herezeld*.

The service of many large farmers to two, three, and even to five landlords, occasions an immense amount of taxation on them in the shape of alienation fees; but the great source of impoverishment arises from the levy in kind of many sorts of produce, arising from ground-service. Were an enquiry made into the title of individual landlords to make these demands, it would be doubtless discovered that, in numberless cases, none could be established. Verification in these matters is postponed, so long as the conversion of them into a money-payment is not legally decided; and even then it is delayed, if the farmer entertains doubts or raises complaints. Altogether it is an unfortunate effect of the status quo in the agrarian population, that the ground-taxes and services should be the source of innumerable disputes, involving heavy legal expenses.

The system of socage occasions another kind of annoyance, as in almost every province a different scale exists. In some parts of Upper Austria, it rests on custom and agreement; and in others it is a general obligation, affecting all equally. In Lower Austria, on the contrary, it is determined by the nature of the occupation, according as the peasants are whole, half, or quarter feoffees, or

only small cottagers; by which arrangement they are placed in different classes, according to the extent of land in their occupation. In the Tyrol, where the ancient order of taxation continues, the land in possession of the peasants is in some parts assessed above, and in others below its value, with reference to the charges and services for which it is liable; and as land records, when kept, consist mostly of agrarial and parochial matters, whose correctness cannot always be vouched for, it follows that it is extremely difficult in numberless cases to pronounce accurately between the rights of the landlord, and the obligations of the peasant. It may be said, without contradiction, that, owing to the immense load of business thrown on the government provincial offices, of which a great proportion finds its way to the district central courts, at least the half of these intricate questions connected with the ground-service of the peasants comes to nothing. But the worst feature is, that the poverty of the peasantry, not only in Galicia, but in the provinces of Austria Proper, has rendered it impossible for them to commute the tithe in kind for a payment in money; and if a law were even passed to establish such a process, it would be for that reason almost inoperative.

New imposts, in addition to the ancient existing ones, have been levied on the peasantry within the last sixty years; and to have enabled

them to discharge these impositions, and to lay by something for themselves, their means and condition should have advanced in a like ratio: but this was far from being the case, and at last the capabilities of the soil became inadequate to the burthens heaped upon it, and prudential savings were out of the question. Indeed, the load of debt continued to increase, swallowing in Lower Austria three-fifths, in the plains of Salzburg one-half, and in the mountain districts the whole of the value of the land. In the northern parts of the Tyrol, in Carynthia, Carniola, and Styria also, the same state of things exists. In many cases, the peasantry, unable to contend against the pressure of these difficulties, have deserted house and home, leaving their fields uncultivated.

The stagnation in matters of husbandry must naturally operate most prejudicially on the manufacturing industry of the country, for inasmuch as agriculture has become neglected, and has even retrograded, while every possible attempt has been made to advance manufactures, disunion has grown up between these two great branches of national industry, the destructive effects of which will pass like a storm over the more favoured and prosperous interests of the manufacturers, sweeping them into the same whirlpool of distress, and engulfing them in the general overthrow. The depressed condition of the national husbandry checks also the free development of manufactures,

which offer no security to those engaged in them, so long as agriculture is kept in the back-ground. As regards the state of credit with respect to mortgages, the most complete want of confidence has arisen, through the neglect of the landed interests, and the farmer finds it impossible to raise money at a fair rate of interest. The impoverishment of the agricultural classes also has produced so fearful an increase of immorality, that if the motives to the commission of crime in the rural districts were analysed, it would be found that they are chiefly attributable to the most grinding oppression and privation.

The effect of the conservative system on the intelligence of the people may be compared to a sleep with troubled dreams. Proscription and repression have been simultaneously exerted to stifle every intellectual manifestation. Written language has been emasculated by the censor, and speech has been choked in its utterance by the secret informer. This corrupt and consuming ulcer ate so deeply into the moral frame of society, and extended itself, polypus-like, so widely, that at last there was no degree high or low — whether wrapped in the steel of loyalty and truth, or incapable of forming a judgment, that was not contaminated by it. The powerful magnate might disregard it, but the dependent masses shuddered within themselves when they reflected on the dangers of denunciation; dangers which



continually threatened their very existence, and against which, security was only to be found in the grave.

Against the perils of espionage there existed no other safeguard than the maintenance of the most complete silence on all political and social questions; or the exercise of subserviency to the hypocritical extent of acquiescing in or extolling whatever was permitted to be seen, said, and believed by the community, or ordered to be received with demonstrations of satisfaction. It naturally followed, therefore, that a most humiliating and disgraceful system of hypocrisy took root, and spreading far and wide gained universal ascendancy. The well-disposed people did violence to their consciences, and by dint of persuading themselves of the truth of the system, they at length satisfied their understandings and became converts to it. It may be readily conceived that even men of honest intentions, and blameless in act and speech, did not always escape the fate of denunciation. An institution, ever open to receive impeachments, but closed to all vindication, which encourages informations against the simplest expressions of opinion and the slightest objections of a political tendency, which even intrudes into the most insignificant domestic and social concerns, affords unbounded scope for the indulgence of hatred, revenge, and defamation, and letting loose the evil passions of bad and depraved spirits, places

in their hands weapons more dangerous to the well-disposed than the sword itself. By offering facilities to the evil-disposed to blast with a lie the most valuable possessions of man, his liberty, honour, and good name, and thus to ruin the prosperity of one family and destroy the happiness of others, the whole foundation of public morality is undermined, and the very institutions, which should be its support and protection, become the vehicles of terror and dismay. The fall of the Roman empire takes its date from the period when public virtue was abandoned, and corruption and demoralisation universally prevailed, poisoning the very sources of loyalty and truth, and surrounding the daily paths of life with secret snares and pitfalls. Such expedients were not called forth for the protection of the state, but they were the instruments of personal malice, revenge, and enmity; arming the vicious for the oppression and persecution of the virtuous, tearing asunder the holiest bonds of relationship, making the wife the betrayer of her husband, and the son the murderer of his father. There is no need to inflict death by violence, when moral murder may be committed with impunity! Consuls may dismiss their officers and attendants when it is intended to crush a Catiline and his band, for every good citizen would offer his assistance to apprehend the criminal; but when the unguarded and innocent speech of the

irreproachable man is obnoxious to false and secret charges — when the unseen enemy crouches in darkness, watching his opportunity for making his cowardly stab from behind — then is the grave the only refuge for freedom, for in life there is no longer security.

One example will be sufficient to prove that the system of secret denunciation extends to the most insignificant trifles. A lately deceased physician of high reputation in Vienna, and a man of the most upright character, happened to say at an evening party that he did not approve of the plan of supplying the city with water from the Danube, on the score of the public health, as he believed the water to possess injurious qualities. After the expiration of some little time he was summoned to appear before one of the public authorities, who thus addressed him: — “Your name stands on the police report as having spoken offensively against the project of the government to supply the city with water; for which I am under the necessity of rebuking you, and of signifying our displeasure.” The physician, having succeeded in recalling the circumstance to his mind, ridiculed the whole proceeding, and proved most satisfactorily that his remark had been wilfully perverted by the informer.

As the system of denunciation extended itself, the informers became regardless of the truth of their reports, and the accused, trembling with

apprehension, yielded themselves to the most abject servility; prostrations, submission, and the incense of flattery filling the cup of human disgrace. The sycophants, weighing every expression, guarded themselves against the utterance of anything unpalatable; that is, anything in the nature of the truth. So extreme was the dread of participation in remonstrance, that a public functionary taking a subordinate by the hand to plead for him, and to claim right and justice in his case, was looked upon as mad or infatuated by his colleagues, who hastily withdrew themselves from him; and if one more emboldened than the rest ventured on a candid remark, he was condemned as a man of ill-breeding, and ignorant of the conventionalities of life. It is remarkable that what is implied by the word *man*, so properly appreciated in the time of Joseph, has only been applied as a term of contempt since the reign of the aristocracy, who consider the attributes of humanity to be a mere fiction.

In the eyes of absolutism man is a worthless and unprivileged portion of the creation, of which he only becomes a recognised member when he is identified with certain exclusive castes. With the exception of the poor worms, who were compelled to crawl before their superiors to save themselves from starving, the mass of the lower orders kept themselves by far more clear from

servile observances than the middle classes, who seemed to outvie one another in the meanest and most abject fawning to official authority. No expressions of contempt are adequate to characterise the superior placeman or the inferior noble; who, being used to domineer over their own subordinates, did not recoil from an abject demeanour to those who stood but one degree above them, nor shrink from an entire sacrifice of their self-pride before those of still higher rank.

Their own servility, and the pride of the aristocracy, combined to render the people invariably the objects of scorn and contempt, which they were made to feel abundantly by an accumulation of the most marked and premeditated insults; so that no possible check could be given as long as publicity of opinion was suppressed; but as this suppression was enforced by the censorship and by the secret police, as part of the system laid down that the people should express no opinions of their own, and should tacitly and submissively conform to the regulations of the government, it was soon felt that the government ceased to afford the means of protection against the oppression of the higher classes; for not only was it compelled to tolerate the evils themselves, but even to screen the oppressors, and to wink at the illegal acts which they committed.

In establishing the fundamental principle, that

the people should exercise no opinion, the natural consequence, that they would be reduced to the point of possessing no temperament at all, was lost sight of. The people offered no opposition to the bureaucratic measures asserting intellectual supremacy, but permitted themselves to be bowed down to the earth, and at the same time lost all feelings of interest in the affairs of the empire. The public spirit, which had worked wonders in 1809, was utterly extinguished.

It would be an act of the most wilful deception not to acknowledge that this result was far more injurious and dangerous in its character than a reaction would have been. The mournful silence, like that of the tomb, that reigned throughout the state, the methodical discharge of the daily duties, and the mechanical clock-work course of business, were pointed at as unerring proofs of national contentment, as sure pledges of the perfect happiness of the people, and as proclaiming the triumphs of the system. It became a matter of congratulation to the government, that the people had advanced so far in the right direction, as to possess neither time nor inclination to occupy themselves with political theories; that the restrictions on the press, and the regulations of the police, had protected them from all the mischievous and dangerous errors of the times; while the easy and indolent life led by the inhabitants of the capital, was pointed out as a proof

of the universal contentment and prosperity of the empire.

Such were the supposed highly favourable results of the conservative system; but, in the meantime, some singular and unexpected circumstances were developing themselves. The worldly direction given to the desires of the whole community, its estrangement from all intellectual pursuits, and its narrow-mindedness, founded on the most selfish struggles after money and possessions, produced by degrees so powerful an influence on the moral feelings, as well as on the social habits of the nation, that the grossest materialism and the most unblushing sensuality predominated universally; and while the most glaring evidence existed of the absence of all harmony and propriety in domestic life, the public career was marked by a rapid progress in immorality. The natural consequence of this state of things is easily foreseen; for man, consisting both of body and of soul, feels as much the necessities of the one as of the other. As the existing system rendered nugatory all attempts to satisfy the higher aspirations of his nature, his whole being became absorbed in the acquisition of wealth and substance, and the enjoyment of sensual indulgences; and being blunted to all feelings of intellectual refinement, he sunk into a state of demoralisation and effeminacy.

These deplorable facts could not remain long concealed; they soon proclaimed themselves by some very ominous and startling appearances, and the dream of the universal happiness and national prosperity was dissolved; but still the true cause of the pervading and increasing depravity was either not seen, or wilfully disregarded. The blame was thrown on the pernicious spirit of the times, and the growing feeling of irreligion, and accordingly the clergy were charged with depravity and supineness. A general cure, it was hoped, would be effected by the introduction of the religious orders of the Redemptionists and of the Jesuits; by increasing the number of convents; by a more strict attention to public morals; and by a more stringent application of the censorship. Thus the fatal error, that the greater the amount of discipline and of restrictions, the more certain the cure, was steadfastly persisted in.

This last self-deception was undoubtedly the most fatal. It was soon perceived that the spiritual wonderlings, who were to have retrieved both the people and the clergy, had met with an unconquerable opposition, which limited their operations to the smallest possible space, and rendered them futile; and the sad experience was gained, that the guardianship of the public morals, and the stringency of the censorship, had recoiled on their promoters. Finally, the most unexpected and alarming discovery was made, that



the crippled energies of the people had awakened into life, and that the spirit of the nation had forcibly broken its bonds.

Subsequently to the year 1820, the inquisition of the secret police became so vexatious and oppressive, that a great portion of the community withdrew itself altogether from general social intercourse, and restricted itself exclusively to its own set and connections; while the rest, that they might have no inducement for opposition, excluded from the circle of their society the mention of everything which concerned the state and its political relations. The interchange of ideas limited itself to trifling platitudes, to the theatres, the fashions, and the light literature of the day. Society moved with so much distaste on this unpalatable ground, — for not even in the capital city of the empire could materials enough for daily conversation be found, — that the most talented, who enjoyed to a certain extent, the reputation of giving an impulse to fashion, withdrew, and left to gossips and younger heads the business of making conversation out of nothing. The frivolous and vapid pursuits, which alone occupied the mind, enfeebled its power, destroyed the taste, and undermined, by their purely sensual character, all moral worth and spiritual susceptibility. The great object of life, and the loftier titles of humanity, were lost sight of in the unmeaning mockery of existence. The finer

feelings of nature were treated as mere nursery-tales, and where a taste for the ideal betrayed itself, it was caricatured beyond the power of recognition. The gentle feelings and noble impulses of the heart were laughed away, till people became ashamed to possess them; the women became vulgar, the men coarse, and the behaviour of both insupportable. Where bounds could be broken, they were traversed with exultation. Every one did what his passions dictated, regardless of remark, and dead to shame. It was a pandemonium upon earth.

But the consequences told with greater severity in domestic life than in the wide range of the community. Allurements without, and the yearning after pleasures, estranged children from their parents, and made them imagine that the hours devoted to their education were an unnecessary encroachment on their more agreeable occupations. Among the citizens, the management and education of their families were entrusted to strangers, whose efforts were directed, not so much to the moral discipline and training of their pupils, as to the instillation of an aptitude for business, and of a worldly spirit. Rectitude of principle being, according to the recognised system, a hindrance to advancement, it was not judged expedient to sacrifice prospects of success in life, by making integrity of primary consideration. The attention of the young was drawn, not to the contemplation

of great and virtuous men, but to the examples of cunning and successful worldlings. They were taught to believe that religion was but a form and ceremony adapted to the rude intellect and credulity of the lower classes, but too childish and ridiculous for men of sense and education, to whom deceit in matters of interest and self-advantage became an indispensable duty.

Depraving as is this system of education, it has proved itself to have been but too well adapted to the state and dispositions of society. A man can hardly fail to be an egotist, when, with all his energies, he has no other path allotted to him than the pursuit of material gains, and the gratification of sensual appetites. And who can blame him that he did not attempt to strive against the stream, when he was so strongly impelled in a contrary direction! If, at the time when this now-lamented system took root, the public press had been free to call attention to its evil tendency — if it had been permitted to show that the result carried with it the elements of dissolution, and that the very reverse of what was intended must follow, the moral degradation of an empire might have been arrested; but the censorship allowed nothing to be done which could cast a cloud on the prescribed order of things, or disturb, in the slightest degree, the perfection of its arrangements.

The cultivation of the sciences ceased from the

year before mentioned (1820); philosophy and politics existed only in name; history feebly struggled to maintain a position of the most precarious tenure; jurisprudence was confined to mere official routine; and the fine arts, unable to contend against the spirit of worldliness and public apathy, declined from pure inanition, and hence nothing remained to nourish and stimulate industry, or to divert attention from idle speculation and fallacious theories, but the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences. The simple truth, that nothing can be practically good unless based on a well-founded theory, was disregarded.

Under these circumstances, it became as impossible to form good teachers as to produce good scholars. A sensible deficiency took place in the ranks of both, as the old masters of the Joseph school died off, or became incapacitated from age. This was especially the case among the professors of civil law. The public offices, also, were so scantily supplied with men of talent and activity, that it was found necessary to engage foreigners to conduct the external affairs. These had certainly learnt to think and to express their thoughts in their own countries, which was forbidden to the Austrians; but it is not to be inferred, therefore, that the latter would have been less capable than the former, had the government permitted them the means; for it has been proved,

in a manner little expected, that many have obtained, by assiduity and private study, the knowledge and acquirements which were denied them in the schools.

The late productions of Austrian talent may be most aptly compared with the ancient paper currency of the empire, each experiencing, in an equal degree, the same general want of credit both at home and abroad; with perhaps the single difference, that the authors were the most rare, as the higher order of minds, who were capable of breathing some life into their creations, would not be bound by the conditions which would have enforced the production of a mere skeleton. The literary productions of that time possessed four singular properties; they neither incited, benefited, enlivened, nor interested the reader. They required also no study; for the author neither led his readers into the abstruse depths of metaphysics, nor into the lofty heights of imagination: he wandered imperceptibly, if at all, from the beaten track, avoiding even the possibility of deviating from the prescribed course. This insipid sustenance of the intellectual appetite, secured, in the opinion of the government, a wholesome condition; inducing the deepest repose, whether, in the waking or the slumbering spirit. But at last, and particularly in the provinces, the tree of knowledge became blighted, and ceased to bear fruit;

and people were surprised at its unproductiveness. In vain were the intellectual powers invoked to manifest themselves again — few obeyed the summons, and all unanimously claimed unrestricted freedom as the condition.

If it were possible to survey and enumerate all the disadvantages and evils which the censorship of the press and the inquisition of the police have inflicted on science in Austria in the course of the last half century, it would be found that the loss of capital and interest, to use a commercial phrase, would appal even the promoters of its ruin. Of all the disadvantages, perhaps the one to be the most deplored is the indifference which the public entertain for all scientific pursuits, and particularly for such as are recommended by any of themselves; an indifference in which the bureaucracy participates. "Since we may not read what we choose, we do not choose to read what we may." The disregard for mental acquirements gained such a height at one period, that a man guilty of the folly of becoming an author, particularly if he were an Austrian, instead of being rewarded by an honourable mention, was received with a contemptuous shrug. The pride with which other nations point to their great and scientific men had no place in Austria, where the numbers decreased daily, and threatened even to become totally extinct, inasmuch as science had ceased to be an object of interest and regard.

The decay of science in the German provinces of Austria entailed another injury, which had either not been foreseen, or was not thought worthy of consideration. It was produced by the exertions of the Slavonians and Hungarians in the cultivation of their language and literature, which assumed at once so great a degree of importance as to rouse the spirit of their people, and to cast thus a heavy reproach on German science and its oppressors. It may be said with the most perfect truth that the growth of science in Slavonia and in Hungary dates from the period of its decay in the Austrian German States. In the latter, the treatment of scientific subjects was marked by a greater regard to the punctual observance of the great *system* of the State, than to the real and intrinsic value of the question, and thus a positive injury grew out of the *system*,—an injury which especially affected the reasoning powers, in proportion as the faculties were stimulated, the judgment sharpened, and the mental energies roused. As it is the peculiar property of the reason to submit every thing to test and comparison, it was naturally feared that this would occur with reference to the State regulations, and hence arose the dread of, and declared objection to all rational and scientific pursuits. But the fact was altogether disregarded, that although power may succeed in repressing the exercise of faculties with which man is endowed, and of

which he knows himself possessed, yet it can never destroy them, and the natural cravings of the spirit, though restrained, will eventually burst forth and proclaim themselves. The dangers which were anticipated from permitting liberty of thought were more to be feared from the other extreme; the encouragement, namely, of habits of utter thoughtlessness, which not only relax the energies of the mind, but, when the power of judgment has been attained, widen also the unhappy breach between the governed, however passive they may be, and the governors, who are little disposed to invite attention to their measures. If, on the other hand, the fullest reliance had been felt in the advantages and perfection of the system, there could have been no reasonable objection against investigation; but it would have been a palpable deception to have encouraged such an idea, if it was intended to establish the system by the weight of authority, and to subject every opinion by the power of absolutism. The monarchical principle does not necessarily require a blind and silent submission, an unconditional passive deportment, nor does it render an inquiry into the measures of government an illegal act, but it is grounded rather on the spirit of public approbation and support, without which no measures, however unimportant, can be effectually introduced. A government, therefore, that requires of the people to receive laws and give



effect to political ordinances against their conviction and consent, is at variance with the spirit of the monarchical principle, and resolves itself into an absolute despotism which pays no respect to reasons and opinions, however well founded or temperately expressed. It is of the greatest importance in monarchies to avoid even the slightest shadow of absolutism in their proceedings, in order to prevent the aristocratical estate, in its close resemblance to the monarchical one, from receiving damage. This prudential course, which is superior to all recommendation, has been neglected, and has drawn on itself the charge of absolutism against its own will, in consequence of the unmeasured restrictions heaped upon true liberty.

This course, and the system of which it is the reflection, and which was so long the governing principle, have produced the most opposite effects, to the injury of the monarchical principle, for which such strong exertions had been made by permitting, on the one hand, expectations of the enjoyment of civil liberty, and by causing a sudden reaction on the other. They, in fact, annihilated public spirit.

The mockery of pretending to encourage ideas of public spirit, free opinion, and nationality, which is professed by those who treat with contempt all liberalism, whether true or false, fails in exciting either the natural or acquired disposition. If

Peter makes a proposition to Paul, from which a mutual benefit may be derived, and Paul, seeing the advantage, closes joyfully with the offer, there is no doubt but that both will act in one common spirit; and thus a people, when it entertains a high opinion of the measures proposed by its government, will lend its whole energies to give them effect. The spirit of cordial unanimity and of active participation in the views of a government which animates a people, is the result of an enlightened state policy and of a vigorous administration. If this truth was fully appreciated by Austria when at the height of its distress during the late war, it seems quite lost to the conviction that a most disastrous and fatal result would have ensued, had it then ventured to assert that the expression of public opinion was superfluous, dangerous, and revolutionary.

Nationality—the pride of a people, in the knowledge of its power and dominion,—that bright jewel of a monarch's crown, was suppressed, as being the badge of demagoguism and the spark of insurrection. A proud race, kindling with resentment at foreign insult, injured national honour, or the infringement of political rights, was not desired.

The state of the true pulse of public feeling, from having been sought in the saloons of the aristocracy, and not in the haunts of the people, has never been correctly ascertained. The clue

to truth cannot be found in the tortuous labyrinth of state affairs, when it is asserted that the bureaucracy is omniscient and infallible, when the public voice is stifled, and when every little movement of the people is held up as an injury to the public welfare, as an unauthorised reproach upon the government, and an attack upon its powers. The aristocratical spirit of the bureaucracy engenders a disregard for the people, and scorns the idea of studying their interests; hence has arisen the notorious blunder of bureaucratical experience. The measures passed at their boards, as being fraught with incalculable benefit in their operations, are in numberless instances fundamentally at variance with the real necessities and interest of the case. It is a natural consequence of the suppression of public opinion, and of the passive endurance of the people, that redress of the most urgent grievances is not obtained, even after repeated attempts, and that the most important affairs are often made to yield to those of the most trifling nature in their official progress. The bureaucracy, which thus possesses the great advantage of not betraying its ignorance, is equally safe from the exposure of an unjust decision. It is to all appearance more easy to govern a state, when the proceedings of its functionaries are not subject to the strictures of the press nor to the comments of public criticism; but the experience of the last fifty years has brought home

an opposite conviction: like the hand-writing on the wall, it has left an indelible impression on the public mind. It now hardly remains to be proved how far the secret machinations and exclusive policy of the bureaucracy can be carried, nor how long such a system can last.

All manifestations of political feeling being refused to the people, who were further required to abstain from any remarks on public matters, they ceased to trouble themselves at all on the subject; and now, that a determined spirit of opposition and a resolute demand for enfranchisement have been awakened, their ignorance and confused notions lead them to form the most erroneous judgments. Another reason why no political development was permitted, as part of the machinery of the great state system, was the fear that the public might take a retrospective view of affairs, and found thereon a course of action. But it must be remembered, at the same time, that there would have been no cause to fear the consequences of a reaction, if the system had been blameless, and infallible in its first principles. There can be no doubt that had the government entrusted the people with a directing guide in politics satisfactory to their convictions, it would have been more effectual than the attempt to keep down, by concealment and violence, the spirit which sooner or later would make way for itself. The dangers, which in other countries

have grown out of a prevailing custom and a crooked policy, so as to threaten all rational acquirements, have been entirely avoided in Austria ; but those dangers which have sprung up from an entire neglect of such pursuits are equally as prominent in the political horizon of the country, and fully as important.

Joseph II. conceived and executed the bold idea of merging all foreign nationalities into the prevailing German ones, and of embodying the different races of the empire in one great and united people. Had this scheme succeeded, the moral power of Austria would have increased tenfold. Yielding to the force of circumstances, however, the succeeding governments abandoned the plan altogether ; when perhaps it would have been more advisable to have retained the principle, only altering the mode of carrying it out. The avowed recognition of national rights, and the exchange of the centralising for the conservative system, gave the signal for the formation of a Sclavonian and Hungarian kingdom. In Bohemia the German language took such deep root without opposition, that had Joseph only been spared for ten years, the whole province would have become German ; but since that period, the question has reverted to its former state, and indeed to all appearance the German language itself will be entirely disused in Bohemia : at least such is endeavoured to be accomplished by the

Czechen \* party. The government, however, opposes the project of educating the people entirely in Slavonian, by throwing difficulties in the way of forming Slavish establishments; hence the education is partly German, partly Slavish, and partly combined, according to the circumstances and peculiarities of the various places. But in spite of these efforts, ground has been won; an instance occurred in the large town of Pilsen, with its mixed population, where, on the establishment of an infant asylum, the

\* *Czechen*. Bohemia derived its name from the Boii, who, under their leader Segovesus, settled in that country about 590 years before the Christian æra. They were soon expelled by the Marcomanni, and these being weakened by their wars with the Romans, under the conduct of Tiberius, were destroyed by the Sclavi, who, like other Scythians, wandered from place to place with their families and cattle; and, as stated by Strabo, lived promiscuously with the Thracians, even in the time of Augustus Cæsar. Afterwards spreading themselves westward, in a few centuries they possessed Illyricum, Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia. But retaining their ancient manners, they neglected to build cities; and, inhabiting the country in detached hordes, they regarded only pasturage and the care of their flocks. The first ruler was one Czechius, from whom the natives derived the appellation of Czechs or Zechs, who, quitting Croatia, migrated first to Moravia, and from thence to Bohemia, about the middle of the sixth century, which he found covered with woods, and possessed rather by herds of wild cattle, than by men. Here he settled his small colony, and taught the few inhabitants to cultivate the land and to sow corn.

Czechen party insisted as a condition that the course of instruction should be entirely in the Bohemian language, and that the election of masters should depend on their strict compliance with this rule. What happened at Pilsen is as likely to occur elsewhere. Whoever knows the persevering though straitened exertions of the Slaves to abolish the German language in Bohemia, and the success which has hitherto attended them, must confess that the object will certainly be obtained at a future time; particularly since the days can never return, in which the adoption of restrictive measures was possible.

In Hungary permission was given for the discontinuance of Latin in the courts and in judicial proceedings, on the sole condition that German should be substituted for it.

"The German language," remarked the Emperor Joseph, "is the universal one of my empire; why, then, shall I allow the laws and the public business of a single province to be administered in a different language? I am the Emperor of *Germany*, and consequently all the other states under my dominion are provinces, that in connection with the whole empire represent one body, of which I am the head." The same argument is as applicable now as it was then; for the Austrian empire is neither Slavish nor Hungarian, but essentially a German power, with German constitution, German legislation, of Ger-

man descent, and with a German race reigning over a German people. The first hereditary Emperor of Austria proclaimed distinctly, in his pragmatical law, that the privileges borrowed by the parent land from the German empire were far from having lost their virtue and power, notwithstanding the dismemberment of the German empire, and that he bestowed upon the new kingdom the name of the "*Austrian Empire*," after his own imperial house which had been adorned for so many centuries with German dignity and merit. What the Emperor Joseph affirmed is therefore the valid law of Austria at the present hour, and therefore no concession with reference to the administrative language can with justice be claimed by Hungary, nor insisted upon by Bohemia. Although the future dismemberment of Hungary and of Bohemia from the empire, notwithstanding the jarring interests and revolutionary movements which are striving for ascendancy, is little to be apprehended; still it is not to be denied but that their restless exertions, with reference to their national languages alone, loosen the bonds of union with the state, and, as the conservative policy cannot be carried out in this important particular, that expediency requires its abandonment.

Not only Hungary and Bohemia, but even the German provinces themselves possess by far too weak a sense of their bond to Austria. There is



a clannish spirit afloat; the Styrian considers himself distinct; the resident of Upper Austria stands in his exclusiveness; the Tyrolese asserts his own individuality, and even the Italian Tyrolese attempts to shake off the German, and to bask as the true Italian, which latter is paying the penalty of his attempt to declare his independence. In avoiding Joseph's system of concentration, the more dangerous error, that namely of effecting too close an union of the different parts composing the empire, has been committed. The spirit of provincial independence would neither have extended itself so far, nor would the bands have been so much loosened, had not the healthy pulse of political life been silenced by the severance of the arteries, and had it not been considered advisable to turn the stream of national opinion into the bureaucratic channels, where it either dried up or stagnated, or lost its invigorating influence from being contaminated by the official contact. It is not the bureaucracy but the press, and the free interchange of sentiment, which create a public spirit; and had these potentialities of the parent soil, and of the centre of the Austrian monarchy, been able to exercise an influence on the provinces, their self-interested ideas of dismemberment would have been absorbed in the zeal with which they would have promoted the higher principles of the union. As, however, nothing proceeded from Vienna but frivolous an-

nouncements of the gossip of the day, or perhaps a dry disquisition on the culture of the potato and the preparation of malt, they quickly withdrew their attention from such insulting trash, and turned it the more resolutely to the interests of their own districts. As matters stand at present, the political position of the empire exhibits the unsatisfactory picture of a weak and spiritless union of the German provinces, contrasted with the restless and determined exertions of the Sclavonian and Hungarian kingdoms to push themselves forward in a new and free direction, and to lay the foundation of a popular era. These circumstances arise from no uncommon causes: a vicious system of government has been too long persevered in, and its operation and effects, not having been sufficiently considered, can no longer be restrained. If the whole history of the deeds of men and the destiny of nations were to be traced out, and the social progress of mankind analysed, it will be found that private and public felicity are the result alone of good education, wise laws, and just government, and that all power, which is not based in equity, is as unstable and transient as it is mischievous and hateful.

## THE STATESMEN OF AUSTRIA.

## PRINCE METTERNICH.

THE occurrences which have succeeded each other so rapidly in the course of the last few months belong to the category of events rather than to history, whatever effect they may, and undoubtedly will, have on the Austrian empire. The administration of affairs, during that period, has been transferred with almost equal rapidity from one set of ministers to another, according to the will of the Emperor, or to the expediency of conceding the popular demands; it is not possible, therefore, to connect the names of these ministers with the history of the empire, with which their brief career gave them no opportunity of identifying themselves. The mistaken policy of the past prepared the way for the present crisis, and necessitated the ordeal through which the empire must pass. With this policy the name of Metternich is indissolubly connected; that name has been mixed up in every transaction which has occurred in the political world, and in every act performed on the stage of Europe during the last forty years. As a diplomatist Prince Metternich stood in the first rank, and his policy, up to a certain period, was invariably successful. His knowledge of

men and of the times was, in the same measure, unrivalled; but although it was universally felt that the same policy was no longer applicable, and that by his pertinacious adherence to it, the inevitable re-action would be the more terrible when it took place, yet it was believed that the explosion would not occur during the continuance of his career. His prophetic penetration and profound judgment foresaw the approaching storm, when he exclaimed; "*Après moi le déluge*;" but he was far from imagining that he himself would be swept away by the turbulent torrent whose course his master spirit had so long controlled. The impulse which the human mind had received, and the advances made by the different states and kingdoms of Europe in civilisation and in science, required a more liberal and enlightened policy; but the restrictive system which was found necessary to check the progress of revolution and democracy, became so rooted a principle of his ideas of government, that both he and the school of which he was the head persisted in attempting to apply it under every circumstance and contingency. The effects, however glossed over, were obvious in the discontent which pervaded the whole empire. This spirit impatiently awaited the opportunity for displaying itself, and for bursting through the trammels, which for so long a time had paralysed the national energies, and restricted every exercise of free will.

As a nation, however, Austria is in a complete state of senility ; the discordant elements of her various provinces, struggling to obtain a more enlightened government, with the free exercise of civil and social rights, point perceptibly to her decay. Disaffection within, and the fear of danger and innovation from without, have kept her in a state of constant alarm, and justified her strongest apprehensions.

It is impossible to conceive that the importance of maintaining the Austrian influence in the Turkish empire, and the independent right of navigation in the mouths of the Danube, could have been overlooked by so astute and wary a politician as Prince Metternich ; yet it is notorious that Russia has established a control and dread in the one, and an undisputed dominion over the other ; both points so vitally affecting the real interests of Austria, that the surrender of them is attributable to the influence of Russian gold. It is recorded in history, and proved by experience, that Russia, little scrupulous in her conquests, never relaxes her grasp, nor disgorges her prey, and therefore it is difficult to imagine that Metternich could have been influenced by apathy, or by the far-seeing policy of biding his time. If it be advanced that the Prince had weighty and well-digested reasons for making no effort to check this encroaching influence, it is to be feared that they have produced a mischievous result, and

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by their failure have endangered his principle of absolutism. In her negotiations with Russia, Austria has exhibited the most remarkable patience and tractability; unaccountable virtues unless exercised for the sole purpose of expediency, and of guarding off disturbance and calamity.

Now that the master spirit of Metternich has ceased to preside over the destinies of the empire, questions that have been deferred, and subjects that have been postponed, will be pressed forward for a settlement; the day of procrastination is past, and the creditors are clamorous in their demands. In order clearly to understand the difficult and important part the Prince had to perform, the fact must never be lost sight of, that he was not the originator, but merely the instrument employed to carry out a deep-rooted and settled policy. He was a virtuoso in politics, and dared not venture on any original subject, nor attempt a composition of his own, even had he been so disposed. He might prelude at will, and throw into his performance as many ornaments and variations as he pleased; but he dared not incur the serious risk of substituting any other piece for the antiquated Spanish air, which, with the exception of the short Josephenian epoch, had rung for centuries from one extreme of Austria to the other.

Napoleon affirmed that Austria was governed by two hundred families, and if to these a proportion

of Jesuits be added, there arises a power which almost defies the skill of the most astute statesman. Metternich, however, possessed too much genius to allow this opinion to be supported; for he understood neither right nor pretension, nor was he disposed to yield to the unavoidable advances of the spirit of the age. It must have been with an exposition of the fundamental principles of such a system that the Prince enlightened the celebrated Rotteck, when he told him at an audience that "the onward movement must be curbed, lest it should advance too rashly."

Metternich strengthened his governing principle with formalities and ceremonies; but it is beyond all doubt that there was more of the partisan than of the statesman in his composition. He rendered the most essential services to the aristocracy and the petty princes; but it was at the expense of all national improvement. Yet it must be confessed that there is something extraordinary in the character of a man, who has been able to act upon exploded and antiquated doctrines with so much address up to the present day. His physical powers are on the wane, which is natural from his advanced age; but he nevertheless showed that his mind was still vigorous, by drawing up the most important despatches and diplomatic documents with his own hand, and in his usual forcible and clear style. He was fortunate enough to be ignorant of the many enemies he had among

the leading ranks of the aristocracy; who were jealous of the unlimited power which he, an alien to the country by birth, exercised in the government of the empire. He was not indifferent to the reputation he might hand down to posterity, for his encouragement of railways, and of commercial enterprise, as was particularly shown by his protection of, and interest in, the trade and navigation of Trieste, added to his avowed patriotism, prove clearly that he contemplated filling an honourable page in the history of Europe.

He began his diplomatic career at an early age, having, when in his twenty-sixth year, represented Austria at the congress of Rastadt in 1799. He rose rapidly by sheer talent, and in spite of aristocratic prejudices, for his birth entitled him to no dignity of rank. After having been sent on missions of importance to St. Petersburg and Berlin, he was finally appointed ambassador at Paris after the peace of Presburg, in 1805; and, though representing the interests of a conquered power, he conducted his delicate and difficult mission with the most consummate skill. Called to fill the high office of Chancellor of State in 1809, he maintained his post with unshaken constancy from that period; never departing from the principles he had adopted, though often compelled to disguise his intentions, or to await the proper moment for their completion. Yielding to the circumstances of the times, from



a sagacious foresight of the issue of events, he exercised his wonderful powers of dissimulation, and possessed such entire control over himself, as to have been able to act for years in opposition to his rooted opinions without betraying his predilections. As at Paris in 1809, so at Dresden in 1813, he succeeded in blinding Napoleon to his real intentions; and in the latter instance dexterously obtained the great object he had in view.

Few of the giant minds, whose names shed a lustre over the pages of European history, and whose councils have had such an influence on the destiny of nations, now remain on the scene which must ere long close on this remarkable man. It has already been seen to what extent his sole power could regulate and control the heterogeneous members of the Austrian monarchy, by persisting in one undeviating line of policy, and by ever manifesting the strongest aversion to all changes which are forced by people on their governments.

#### COUNT KOLLOWRAT.

Count Kollowrat stood high in public estimation. He was considered by some to be temporising with reference to the retrograding spirit of the stiff absolutists, and by others to be in favour of the advancing character of the age; but, to speak impartially, certain actions which

assisted in making a favourable impression on the public mind cannot be placed to his credit, although it is highly probable that his advice in many instances tempered that of the chancellor of state. During the whole course of his lengthened service he showed no remarkable degree of talent, although such was in the highest degree necessary in his capacity of minister of the interior. Under his guidance the state machine maintained its old drowsy course. Since the days of the Emperor Joseph II. the peasant had made no progress towards obtaining his emancipation; the municipal rights of the citizen had become, if possible, more restricted; the nobles continued rooted in their sybaritical sloth, and the usurious dealings of the bureaucracy surrounded the monarchy as with a network. No proper influence had been effectual to purify or to elevate the character of the bureaucracy: it maintained, under the management of Count Kollowrat, its old antagonistical character, its pedantic spirit of business, and its unpatriotic apathy, which looked with indifference upon the interests of the state, and considered the emperor, in the capacity of its head, as a mere paymaster. The press, as regarded its influence on public education, and on the religious and political enlightenment of the people, remained perfectly powerless, and the aid of the spiritual lever, which the government had turned to great account when struggling in the

late war to regain its independency, had been long discarded as useless. Jesuitism was openly encouraged; religion was used as a mere engine of the state; the power of the police exceeded in weight and influence that of most of the judicial and administrative tribunals; and neither the researches of science nor the productions of art were honoured and rewarded according to their deserts. Whatever may have been the Count's feelings on such matters, the fact of his holding office, and permitting the continuance of such a state of things, was an indisputable proof that the administration of the home department was in improper hands, and that the name of Kollowrat was not in reality a pledge of social progress. If it be admitted that he was debarred from exercising his judgment freely, and was restricted from carrying out the ideas of reform he had so much at heart, there is then no alternative left but to declare that an erroneous opinion existed respecting either his power or his talents. In one particular, however, he continued steadfast to his policy; namely, in the protection and goodwill he evinced to the race of serfs, who, though sunk in ignorance, are never forgetful of their Sclavonian descent, and look forward with eager expectation to their emancipation, whether it be effected through their own struggles and determination, or by the voluntary concession of the government. The Hungarian nobles of ultra

opinions on the subject of serfdom looked on the Count as a greater bar to their schemes than even Prince Metternich himself; who, indeed, enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity among the leaders of the Hungarian aristocracy. It is believed that the Count was no stranger to the declared anti-Russian principles of serfdom, and that he actually countenanced the struggles of the Croats and Slavonians against their Hungarian oppressors. If this statement have any foundation, it reflects the highest credit on the Count, for it is obviously against the interests of Austria to keep the Slavonians in servitude, as her strength would be increased in a threefold degree were she to accord them a political existence. That, however, no longer remains a question; the Slavonians have consummated the triumph by themselves, and their moral development, which could take no root under a system of oppression and debasement, will, when they are admitted to an equal participation of rights and freedom, expand beyond calculation. The certainty that the day of regeneration would arrive was probably strongly impressed on the mind of Kollowrat; but he was undoubtedly wronged when the act of having agitated and insisted upon the extension of personal interests in the empire was ascribed to him.

## BARON KÜBECK.

The state was indebted to the good offices of Count Kollowrat for the appointment of Baron Kübeck to the head of the finance department. This man held a remarkable position among the statesmen of Austria, for, though only the son of a respectable tailor, and a parvenu in the strictest sense of the word, he ranked and stood his ground with the proudest blood of the empire. Endowed with the highest talents, he worked his way from an humble position in life to the post of finance minister, and compelled an exception of the rules of precedence in his favour. His predecessors in office held the maxim that *borrowing produces supplies*; but he asserted boldly that it *creates debt*. This was the great secret of his system; not that he set his face totally against borrowing, for the loans he raised far exceeded those of his predecessors, but he applied them to a profitable end, and urged the construction of railways in the empire with all his power and influence. He saw that these great high-ways for commercial enterprise, however inviting, could not attract the merchant nor increase the springs of industry so long as a narrow and restrictive policy, cramped with prohibitions and exorbitant tolls, surrounded the empire like the wall of China; and he therefore projected extensive altera-

tions in the department of the customs. No sooner, however, had this intention got wind, than the manufacturers of Bohemia, Moravia, and of Lower Austria poured in crowds to the capital, and with organised deputations besieged the doors of the great officers of state, till they succeeded in arresting the proposed measure. When the astonished Baron Kübeck remarked to the leader of one of these deputations that he was at a loss to conceive how the secret resolutions of the council of state had become publicly known, he received for answer: "It is indeed to be deplored, your excellency, that we, the parties so immediately concerned, should have to learn surreptitiously information so vital and important to us."

The Government was unquestionably guilty of a great and unpardonable error in permitting measures, which concerned the welfare of millions of the people, to be dealt out with hesitation, and to be waived for the benefit of a few interested individuals; it should have had a thorough conviction of the practical benefit of its measures, and not have allowed the opinion of a few monopolists to divert its purpose. But there was either timidity in the cabinet, or the question had not been sufficiently matured. Under any circumstances, however, the fact of the Government having been taken by surprise, and forestalled in its measures, through a breach of confidence on the part of some of its underlings, is

a severe commentary on its mode of administration.

If Baron Kübeck had been a still greater financier, he must have failed, in spite of railways and custom-house reforms, so long as he was compelled to pursue a pettifogging system of finance, and hesitated at introducing the most summary reductions in the expenditure of the state. In 1846 he urged a reduction of 20,000 men in the strength of the army ; but the jealous policy of the Government, with regard to its Italian and Swiss frontiers, of which suspicions were then entertained, and the mutinous spirit manifested besides by the peasantry in several of the provinces, put that measure entirely out of the question. The introduction of a system of economy and reduction in the expenditure of the state would have contributed materially towards producing a general reform and a healthy change in the entire administration and policy of the country, and, by bringing the finances back to a solvent state, would have relieved the finance minister from his Sisyphus-like task.

The excess of expenditure over the revenue is estimated to have amounted to 240 millions of florins (24 millions sterling) in the last ten years. In the early part of the year 1847 the Baron negotiated a loan for 80 millions of florins, to relieve the immediate pressure on the Exchequer, and to enable him effectually to interpose in

checking the wild spirit of speculation which had gained ground, by purchasing largely on behalf of the Government into the various public companies, and thereby gaining power to control the ruinous excesses of the mania. The large sum of ten millions of florins was actually thus invested, and the Government broker declared that he was prepared to go to the extent of twenty millions more in case of necessity. This announcement had the effect of arresting the panic, which had begun to spread, and of giving firmness and confidence to the share market. It must be admitted on all hands that Baron Kübeck was perfectly master of this branch of business, and knew how to turn his knowledge and power to account. At that time Baron Sina, the rich Greek banker at Vienna, solicited of the Government permission to form a company to construct a railway from Bruck on the Leytha, on the frontier of Hungary, to Raab. It was granted, on condition that he did so at his own expense; that a company should proceed to carry the line on to the Turkish boundaries, and that no shares should be sent into the market till the year 1850: which terms were accepted. But in contrast to the keenness and caution of this bargain appears the singular fact, that the Government has not been wise enough to exercise the same prudence in other matters. The danger and loss sustained at Pesth by the flooding of the river and its stoppage by the ice, and the con-



sequent frequent disruption of all communication between the city and the old town of Ofen on the opposite bank, determined the Government on erecting a suspension bridge across the Danube. Baron Sina offered to accomplish the work, on condition of receiving the tolls for ninety-nine years. Profitable beyond measure as such a speculation must be, and nationally important as is the work, the Government allowed the project to pass out of its hands, and confirmed the Baron's offer. Hitherto the nobles of Hungary — and that denomination includes every well dressed person — have possessed the privilege of passing toll-free over the present pontoon bridge, the peasants only being subject to that tax, as they are to every other ; but when the new bridge is completed, no class will be exempted from payment of the toll. The work has been entrusted to an English engineer, Mr. Clark, who constructed the suspension bridge across the Thames at Hammersmith ; and so vast is the undertaking, that it has already occupied seven years, and will require three more for its completion.

#### COUNT SEDLNITZKY.

Count Sedlnitzky, the head of the police department and of the censorship, is not generally popular ; as may well be imagined from the

nature of his functions. He is not a man of the deepest penetration, although in some instances he has shown talents of no mean order. His power and influence were at their culminating point in the reign of the Emperor Francis, whose meddling disposition led him to mix himself up personally in all the proceedings of the police. His overstrained system has been somewhat relaxed of late years; but the inquisitorial power of the police is still retained as a useful means of suppressing without ceremony all objectionable proceedings. The bureau of the secret police is even yet perfectly organised, and every important point of the empire is under the surveillance of a set of paid agents; but their occupation, if not entirely gone, is at all events in abeyance, and will doubtless not be tolerated when order is resumed, and a new state of things established.

It is frightful to think in what impure hands the honour and happiness not only of society, but of individuals, reposed. The presence of the secret spy could not be detected, and hence a feeling of insecurity and of suspicion haunted every breast. It is true that the chief directors did not place implicit reliance on the information of their secret agents, but tested and examined thoroughly the correctness of their statements; still the denounced, however innocent, suffered from the injury of unjust accusations.

Much as these paid and secret agents were to

be dreaded, there was, if possible, a greater danger to be apprehended from the numberless swarms of flattering time-servers and fawning place-hunters—creatures who depended on the police for advancement and service, and were often employed to lay a trap for information. The business of the secret police did not pass through the hands of the ordinary officials, but was conducted entirely by a confidential manager. A country which will not permit the freedom of the press is driven to maintain a secret police, as otherwise it would be without the means of ascertaining the state of the public mind; for in the intercourse of the population of an arbitrary government there exist numberless elements of danger, which seek to withdraw themselves from the light, and require to be secretly watched. With a full and entire freedom of the press, the secret dealings of the people would burst forth into light, and present a joyful contrast to the otherwise sullen mystery.

Count Sedlnitzky was a great patron of the fine arts; his antechamber stood always open to dancers, singers, virtuosi, and actors: only unprofessional people complained of the difficulty of procuring an audience with him. The official constitution of the bureaux of the police and of the censorship was peculiar; for while all other departments were conducted by a species of board or commission, in them the minister himself adjudicated *ad libitum*.

The counsellors (Hofrätthe) who were given him as assistants, had a very subordinate function; their power was limited, in fact, to the consideration of the subjects laid before them. Hence it naturally followed, that the arbitrary decision of an individual was the moving power in the working of the machine; and established the melancholy fact, that, in a civilised country, the infliction of misery and injustice, without hope of redress or chance of appeal, depended on the will and caprice of one man.

## EDUCATION.

AUSTRIA, although situated in the centre of Europe, is less known, and less understood, so far as relates to its institutions, its government, and the general administration of its affairs, than any other country. To one who has resided for some time in that empire, it becomes matter for surprise to find how differently things are organised, to what is the received opinion elsewhere in Europe. As regards education, this is particularly the case; and the feeling has been shared in by others. M. Saint Marc Girardin, in his work on the system of public instruction in Germany, says, "I have never yet met with a government which was opposed to the education of the people, and that which I thought the least zealous in this particular, namely Austria, is distinguished, almost above all others, for its great attention to popular instruction."

The educational establishments of Austria were considerably increased, and received a fresh impetus during the reign of Maria Theresa, who founded new institutions, and introduced a vast improvement in the system, which since her day has not been relaxed; although, to meet the advancing spirit of the age, greater advantages

should have been offered, and more liberality displayed, particularly in the rural districts; which will be described at a later portion of this work. Austria has nevertheless exhibited a certain degree of determination and vigour in her plans for national education, which is the more remarkable, when we take into consideration the difficulty she must have met with in organising a scheme embracing the whole of her vast empire. Prussia is in advance of her neighbour, chiefly on account of the unity of language which pervades that kingdom, and the fewer religious scruples she has had to contend against. Probably Austria would never have succeeded in introducing her great and uniform system of national education but for her form of government, which, in this instance at all events, has been productive of unqualified good, and has enabled her to harmonize the many discordant elements with which she is surrounded. The great variety of nations and of tongues of which the Empire consists, with the different habits, peculiarities, customs, religions, and manners of the several races, are all brought under the influence of one system; thus members of the Church of Rome, Calvinists, Lutherans, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Unitarians, all receive the same description of popular instruction, varied only in

some slight details to suit the language and the religious tenets of each particular people.

Education is compulsory : it is not left to the option of parents whether they will or will not have their children instructed ; they are compelled to send them, when of a certain age, to the national school of their parish. Besides, the disadvantages under which the uneducated labour are too many, and the laws too strictly enforced against them, even in the most distant country districts, to permit of general ignorance. All children, both males and females, from the ages of five to thirteen, come under what is called the '*school age*;' and as the description of education they are to receive is strictly defined, all, from the child of the simple peasant to that of the highest university professor, must pursue the path of instruction in the manner marked out by the state. This regulation, however, is not without its disadvantages ; for, though the instruction is general, yet the plan is so conducive to the perpetuation of the caste system, after the manner of the Chinese, and the ancient Egyptians, that it is opposed, not only to political reformation, but also to the steady progress of civilisation itself, and it has impeded the healthy development of the resources of the people, both mental and commercial, which would otherwise have taken place during the present long peace.

The measures taken to enforce education among the lower orders are entirely centred in the local governments of the country. Accurate registers of all the children that have arrived at the 'school age,' are kept by the priest and elders of each parish; who, with the local executives, take means to ensure their attendance at the schools.

Public instruction is divided into the popular or national, the intermediate, and the superior. The popular consists of that afforded at the elementary national schools (*Trivialschulen*), the superior primary schools (*Hauptschulen*), and the (*Wiederholungs-schulen*) repetition schools, for persons above the age of twelve years, analogous to the *écoles de perfectionnement* of France. Between this last and the next class there are a number of very admirably appointed seminaries for the purpose of teaching the useful arts, and of giving special instruction in particular trades, being the schools of utility (*Realschulen*). The intermediate instruction is acquired in the gymnasiums, lyceums, and faculties or academies, of different kinds; and the superior education is that attained in the universities.

The elementary schools are essentially parochial, and are chiefly to be found in the villages. The pupils attending them are divided into two classes; the first, which continues for two years, is instructed in the catechism of their church, and the first



elements of reading, writing, and ciphering ; the second continues the religious instruction of the former years, and adds to it orthography, reading, and writing from dictation. The Lancasterian system is universally adopted in all the national schools. The masters, who are generally the churchwardens (Kirchen-Aeltesten) of the parish, have an assistant who teaches the girls in a separate room, and two supernumeraries, with a distinct chamber for the instruction of very young children ; the religious instruction being left entirely to the priests. In the larger towns and more populous districts, the male and female schools are distinct, and in the chief towns there is a better grade of female schools for the children of the middle classes (gebildete Stände), where they are taught needle-work and other useful arts. All the elementary and primary schools are under the direction and control of the clergy ; but it is remarked, with reference to them, by an able French writer\* : “ Dans les écoles élémentaires des petites villes, il n’y a que la méthode d’enseigner les objets prescrits par les écoles de village, qui doit être plus appropriée aux besoins d’instruction de ces classes qui ont déjà plus de fortune, plus de contact avec les habitants des

\* De l’Instruction Publique en Autriche, par un Diplomate étranger, qui a long-temps résidé dans ce pays.

grandes villes, et plus d'affaires et de relations industrielles et commerciales."

The superior primary schools (Hauptschulen) are, as their name implies, of a higher grade, and are distributed over a wider area or district. Children are received in them at eight years of age, and the course of instruction delivered there carries them on from that acquired in the elementary schools into the third and fourth classes of general instruction.

Pupils continue for two years in the third class, and are instructed in the gospels, German grammar, and in the elements of Latin, to fit them for admission into the gymnasiums. The fourth class is composed of two divisions, a year being spent in each; in the first division the education consists of religious instruction, arithmetic, geometry, the elements of architecture, grammar, writing, dictation, and the geography of Austria. In addition to the above, the second division receives instruction in the elements of mensuration and mechanics, the higher branches of calculation and arithmetic, foreign geography, and the principles of physics and natural history. Where the funds for public instruction permit, there is a music school attached to each of the last-mentioned institutions.

There is one model or normal school in the chief town of each province, for the purpose of

training masters for the national schools. That of St. Anne, in the Anna Gasse at Vienna, which was established by the Empress Maria Theresa as a model for all other schools in her dominions, is complete in all its arrangements.

The repetition schools (*Wiederholungs-schulen*) are established for youth above the "school-age" (those who have attained the thirteenth year), and are intended for such as have passed through the schools already described, as well as for those who from circumstances have been unable to attend them. To ascend from an inferior to a superior school, it is necessary to produce certificates of morality and literary proficiency from the religious instructor and the schoolmaster of the former. Public semestral examinations are held in all the schools of the empire. On the whole—excepting Prussia, as has been stated—Austria possesses the best system of national education of any continental country. The number among the lower orders who can read and write, and are acquainted with the elements of arithmetic, far exceeds the same relative proportion of the peasantry in the most enlightened parts of Great Britain. Manufacturers and the principals of factories are mostly forbidden to employ children under ten years of age; but if the work be of that nature to require the employment of young children, their employers are obliged to allow them a certain portion of each day for the

purpose of instruction. The education given in all the schools above mentioned is perfectly gratuitous, and costs the country annually about two and a half millions of florins.

The Roman Catholic, as the national religion, is that taught in the schools, but dissenters from that faith are neither excluded nor separated; nor are they required to engage in the religious services, or to receive the peculiar theological instruction of the schools. In the Roman Catholic schools, the Jews, as well as the Protestants and other dissenters, arrive one hour after, and leave one hour before, the other pupils; these two hours being occupied in religious services and instruction. There are other primary schools, not Roman Catholic, particularly in Transylvania, Galicia, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, and Carynthia, amounting to 2037, whose religious instruction is in accordance with the popular creed of those countries, the control of which is committed to the clergy of each particular denomination. Jews are admitted into the Roman Catholic schools on the same terms as Protestants, Unitarians, and other dissenters; they receive religious and moral instruction from an authorized work, the *Bne-zion*, which is principally taken from the Old Testament; but where a sufficiency of these people exists, schools have been specially established for their use. The following sum-

mary shows how far the distinction of races affects national instruction in the empire :—

	No. of Children at School-age.	No. in attendance at Schools.	In the Thousand.
<i>Tyrol</i> : peopled by Germans and Italians in the proportion of 53 Germans to 30 Italians - - -	117,460	107,507	915
<i>Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, and Carniola</i> : composed of Germans and Slaves, in the proportion of 15 Slaves to 4 Germans - - -	994,560	794,684	799
<i>Upper and Lower Austria</i> : peopled entirely by Germans - - -	315,840	240,664	762
<i>Styria</i> : German and Slavisch, in the proportion of 9 of the former to 8 of the latter - - -	136,600	76,869	563
<i>Lombardy and Venice</i> : exclusively Italian - -	652,960	258,009	395
<i>Transylvania</i> : inhabited by Germans, Hungarians, and Wallachians; the two latter predominating over the Germans as 3 to 1 -	283,640	51,348	181
<i>Galicia, Dalmatia, and the Illyrian Coast</i> : entirely peopled by Slavonians -	783,160	81,157	105

The schools of utility (*Realschulen*) are institutions established for the purpose of increasing national industry, and for affording instruction in particular professions and arts, as well as for commercial purposes. Candidates for admission into these schools must have passed through the fourth

class of the superior primary schools, and submit to an examination as to their proficiency in the different branches of knowledge taught there. The instruction afforded in these schools is of two sorts:—1st. General literary education, continued on the plan of the higher classes in the inferior school, embracing religion, declamation, a knowledge of the mother tongue, arithmetic, and geography: 2nd. Special education, which is subdivided into that applicable to merchants, including the sciences of commerce, exchange, and book-keeping; into that which fits the pupils for the superintendence of woods and forests, and the management of agriculture, in which class the higher branches of physics and natural history are taught; and finally into the school for artists, manufacturers, engineers, and architects, where instruction is given in the higher branches of mathematics, the history of art, practical chemistry, and a knowledge of foreign languages, particularly English, French, and Italian.\*

The *Realschule*, or Polytechnic Institution, in the Wieden Vorstadt at Vienna, was established in 1816 by the Emperor Francis I. to increase the national industry, and to afford instruction in the principles of trade and commerce, the useful arts, the practical sciences, manufactures and machinery. It is thoroughly provided with models

\* Appendix, Note A.

and apparatus of every description, and with various collections, such as chemical products, mathematical instruments, balances, weights and measures, apparatus for explaining the laws of physics, models and machines employed in industry and science, with those that serve in the construction of roads and bridges, and samples of manufactures and merchandize belonging to the different departments of commerce. Each of these occupy a separate room, and are under the care and management of the professor attached to each particular branch. There is besides an extensive library containing the best works in all languages on these various subjects.

The institution contains several schools, viz., for working chemists, who are instructed in the regulation and admixture of paints and colours; for the theory of fermentation and distillation, and the manufacture of wines and beer, &c.; for the fabrication of soap, and the principles and practice of tanning, dyeing, and bleaching; also for the construction and management of foundries, forges, and smelting apparatus, as well as chemistry generally, as applied to arts and manufactures. The mechanical department comprehends the construction and management of machinery, hydraulics, and every description of mining and mechanical engineering; rural economy and forestry, mining, land-surveying, and architecture are also taught, forming on the whole six schools,

in each of which a period varying from one to three years is spent, and the pupils, after having completed three years in that of architecture, are received into the imperial academy of fine arts.

Besides the superior primary schools (*Hauptschulen*) are gymnasiums, analogous to the great schools of England, into which none are admitted as pupils above the age of sixteen, nor without undergoing an examination in all that the *Hauptschule* embraced. They are dispersed through the cities and chief towns of the provinces, and contain from 100 to 150 scholars each, and are governed by a director and a full staff of professors, the whole being under the *Studium Hof Commission* of the province. Attached to them are a certain number of government endowments, by which so many young men, denominated pensioners or bursars, are not only educated gratuitously, but receive a fixed stipend from the State during the period of their education; but none are eligible to these endowments who have not gained a first certificate in the highest class of the superior primary schools.

There are 117 Roman Catholic and 11 other gymnasiums in Austria, which are distributed through the various provinces\*, besides 80 in Hungary, of which 67 are Roman Catholic.

The lyceum and faculties of science form a

\* See Appendix, Note B.



description of minor colleges, through which it is necessary to pass, in many instances, before entering the universities, to which several of these institutions, as well as the gymnasiums, are attached. There are 5 lyceums in Austria, 25 faculties of science, and 7 of theology, with 287 professors, and upwards of 4800 students, of whom 138 are pensioners upon the state. These establishments are at Salzburg, Linz, Laybach, Klagenfurth, and Klausenburg; that at the latter giving also courses in law and medicine, and thus differing but in one point from an university.

There is besides one establishment in the Austrian capital which is perfectly unique of its kind, and extraordinarily emblematical of the character of the government. It is the *Theresanium*, or *Theresianische Ritter Akademie*,—a college founded by the Empress, whose name it bears, for the purpose of affording the youth of the aristocracy of Austria an education fitting them for the posts of *employés* and of general government officers throughout the empire.

The effects of this are manifold : — all the scholars in the institution must be of the rank of *Von*, or knight, at the least ; and as the great majority of the pupils are pensioners on the government, which thus provides for a number of the children of the poorer nobles, it links the high-born with the State, and creates a bond of union which it is

the interest of both parties to preserve. By keeping these young men distinct and separate from the lyceums and universities, it assists to preserve that line of demarcation between the noble and the class below him, which it has ever been the policy of Austria to maintain. It affords to the students an early diplomatic education, and furnishes to the state a sufficiency of men versed in the theory of Austrian politics, to fill every office of emolument and trust under the crown; thus precluding the middle classes from rising to a share, however humble, in the administration of affairs.

When we reflect upon the effects of this system, it offers some clue to the means by which this vast empire has not only been preserved in tranquillity, but also in civil and political ignorance for so long a period, while the nations which surround it have laboured under convulsions that have either threatened or ended in revolution, long before even a silent and unnoticed under-current was setting in that direction in Austria.

The time spent by each pupil in the institution is twelve years, six of which are spent in the grammar and humanity classes; two in those for general science and philosophy, and four in the study of law, political economy, and politics, and in acquiring a knowledge of administration. The study of languages, of ethics, of the feudal and commercial laws of the empire, the practice of the

tribunals, the diplomatic and political history of the country, and all that comes under the head of accomplishments, are also included. These subjects are all taught by able professors, well versed in Austrian diplomacy and the refinements of science, but who are obliged, as in the universities and lyceums, to lecture according to a special plan laid down by the superior of the institution, and in unison with the principle advocated and developed in some work upon the subject, which has been submitted to the scrutiny of the censor, and is authorised by the government.

It is ascribable to this extended and accomplished course of study that both the home and foreign diplomatists and chief functionaries of the country are, in their sphere, the best educated of the community, and their tact and influence at foreign courts is too well known to require any comment. The *personnel* of the institution is in the hands of a staff of directors and professors, amounting to 63 persons, while the number of pupils is only 170, of whom 140 are pensioners on the state, at a cost of 140,000fl., the total expence of the establishment being 174,305fl., or 17,430l. yearly. The remarkable disproportion of pupils to teachers is very striking; and the expence, prodigious when compared with the fact that the government grants but 1217l. for the maintenance of 84 professors and for the education of 5000 students in the university of Vienna, proves the great importance

attached to the institution, as the nursery for the future statesmen and high functionaries of the empire, on whom the maintenance of the status quo would depend. This is at once perceived from the fact that the Emperor Joseph, in his philanthropical exertions for reform, contemplated its suppression, and for some time it actually ceased to exist; but on his decease, and when affairs reverted to their old order, it was reinstated by Leopold II., and was increased in magnitude and endowments by the late Emperor Francis.\*

There are eight universities in Austria†, and one in Hungary (at Pesth); the essential characteristics of which, and in which they differ from a lyceum or academy, being, that they consist of four faculties, and confer degrees in each of them; viz. theology, law, physic, and philosophy. Each university is governed by a Rector Magnificus, or provost, four presidents, four deans, and four seniors of the different faculties, who constitute the *Senatus Academicus*; besides which there are procurators of the different nations, directors and professors of each particular faculty. The pupils of each class or faculty enter for a distinct course of study, remain attached to it during the entire period of their university career, and receive a diploma for it alone; either as priest, lawyer,

\* See Appendix, Note C.

† Ibid. Note D.

physician, or doctor of philosophy; the latter being equivalent to master of arts in the English universities.

None of the students, and very few of the professors, reside within the walls of the university. The students are governed not only by the academical, but also by the civil and criminal laws of the university, which empower its senate to inflict fines, expulsion, and even imprisonment within their precincts. When a student is confined to the prison of an university, he is supplied with the books of the studies he is pursuing, and is conducted daily to and from his class, by which arrangement his course proceeds uninterruptedly; but he is not permitted to hold any intercourse with his fellow students.

In the full conviction that the cultivation of the intellect can neither become useful to an individual nor to the state, excepting when engrafted on morality and religion—which ought to be the mainsprings and regulators of all human science and philosophical researches—the Austrian government has declared that religious instruction shall go hand in hand with that of science, as well in the higher branches of education, as in its elementary and preparatory courses; and therefore, in order that philosophical ideas and speculative sciences may not have a baneful effect on the pupil about to enter on the highest regions of study, nor weaken the religious sentiments

which were inculcated in the lower schools, a professorship of religion has been established, which is intended to fortify his belief, and to stimulate his practice.

The ordonnance states : “ Being desirous that the young men, who are pursuing a course of study in philosophy, should be preserved from mischievous errors and libertinage at an age when the passions are gaining strength, and when, from the very nature of their studies, the reason is fascinated by the objects which surround them, His Majesty has condescended to command that a chair for religious instruction shall be established, which shall be entrusted to a professor especially appointed thereto. Its aim will be to reason with the pupils, and to confirm in them what they may have learnt on the subject in the gymnasia.

“ The professor must pass over in silence all the questions which are treated of in a course of philosophy, so called ; such as, for example, the immateriality and immortality of the soul, free agency, the existence and the attributes of the divinity, &c., and he must commence his instruction by teaching the doctrines of the destiny of man, and of the natural bias towards religious sentiments. Having succeeded in convincing his auditors of the object of religion, and of its general salutary influence, and having demonstrated how indispensable it is to the intellectual ennoblement

of the human race, he must draw their attention to the difference existing between that knowledge which is acquired with respect to religion by the natural channel of reflection, and that which has been given by revelation; he must cause them to understand the utility of the former, as well as its insufficiency, by deducing proofs from the history of philosophy; and he must develop the truth and divine origin of revelation by succinct but well-founded and rational arguments. In expounding the New Testament he must recapitulate briefly the principal doctrines of Christ, founding his discourse as much on the faith as on the morality to be drawn from them, and in such a manner as to place before his pupils, in a clear point of view, all that is divine and sublime in the precepts of revelation. In manifesting the ground-work of faith, he must be guarded against touching on those controversies which are the property of theology, in order to define the limit which ought to exist between the attainments of the theologian, and the knowledge of a layman, thoroughly versed in religion.

“In combating the objections raised against religion, he must only touch on those most prevalent among his pupils, or in the higher walks of life; and in order to fulfil this duty with the greater effect, he must apply himself to observe and learn the spirit of the day, as well as that of his auditors. He must also devote himself to disco-

ver the causes of indifference, scepticism, and incredulity; so that, by pointing out with proper energy the sad results of incredulity compared with the salutary influence of Christianity on the well-being of nations and individuals, he may preserve his pupils from its effects. In comparing natural religion with Christianity, in order to show the advantages of the latter, he must not neglect to point out the superiority of the (Roman) Catholic church, in order to gain the affections of his pupils to this creed."\*

A book of religious instruction, especially written in this sense, has been published, by order of the ruling authorities, to serve as a manual for all the faculties of science in the empire. Nationally speaking as regards Austria, there can be no doubt of the policy of this arrangement; but, even there, it is a matter of question whether the means employed conduce to the end in view, and

\* An application made to the superior authorities, for permission to establish professorships of religion for pupils not belonging to the Romish Church, was peremptorily negatived by an Imperial decree of November, 1836; although all pupils are compelled to show, by certificates from their teachers at the end of every six months, that they have punctually performed all their religious duties. The objection, however, seems to be just; for in a country which professes a state religion, and where consequently there is no absolute liberty of equal worship for all creeds, it would be an anomaly to have rival professorships opposed to one another in the same university.



whether the institution of an academical chair for religious instruction, such as belongs to the faculty of philosophy, actually renders the services which are expected. There are many matters in the mysteries of revealed religion, and in the dogmas of the Roman Catholic faith, which cannot possibly be explained by the rules of logic, without the aid of belief and of religious feelings, and which it is consequently dangerous to submit to scholastic dissertations in the presence of young men not intended for the priesthood. The explanation of dogmas, by arguments which may appear weak and unsatisfactory to them, awakens their attention, quickens their intelligence, and often sows the seeds of scepticism in their minds. This is proved from the fact, that many young people who have come up from their preparatory schools, trained to a proper reverence for their religion, have left their course of religious lectures, in after times, either shaken in their belief or dissatisfied with the arguments of their professors, which seemed capable of the easiest refutation. Others also assemble among themselves for the purpose of debating the points, and of putting their own constructions and refutations on them.

Religion, like a philosophic science, and subject to scholastic dissertations, should remain in the province of the faculty of theology ; where it can be treated of, to the greatest extent and depth which it requires, with the addition of those

subsidiary qualifications which are so requisite in the scientific investigation of so solemn a subject.

The mode of instruction already instanced, points out, it is true, the line which should be drawn between the knowledge of the theologian, and that of the layman well grounded in his faith; but it is difficult to preserve the limit, when religion is looked at in a scientific and philosophic point of view. When religious subjects are treated of under the heads of science and of reason, in the presence of youths who, from the very nature of their studies, are led to examination and reflection, it is difficult, and indeed often dangerous, to stop at a certain point without advancing, and without exhausting the subjects of controversy which have been unavoidably touched upon; for the intelligence of the auditors always seeks to supply any deficiencies, and naturally often wanders from the right path.

The course of the science of religion in its dogmatic form, as it exists at present, has only been attached to the obligatory studies of the faculty of philosophy since the year 1805; and it might be advantageously substituted by a course of literature exclusively devoted to such subjects by the profound thinkers and classical writers who have given the benefit of their experience and eloquence to the cause of religion. A work published some years since in France, under the

title of "*La Raison du Christianisme*," with the view of combating the errors of philosophy of the eighteenth century, might serve as a basis for such a chair. A course of instruction founded on the authority of the great thinkers who adorned the period, such as Bacon, Montaigne, Pascal, Descartes, Bossuet, Fénelon, Fléchier, Massillon, Newton, Leibnitz, Kepler, Euler, &c., would have more influence on the minds of the pupils than a book on the science of religion, published by order of any scholastic authority. This book, which contains passages of the most edifying nature, might be advantageously introduced into the course of philosophy, and particularly into that of moral philosophy, laid down for the second year of philosophical studies.

In pursuance of his policy of reform, the Emperor Joseph II. abolished the old diocesan seminaries, and substituted for them general ones; which were looked upon with dislike by the high clergy, under the idea that such establishments, not being placed under the special inspection of the spiritual diocesan authorities, did not offer a sufficient guarantee for the religious sentiments and moral purity required for the priestly functions. The Emperor Leopold suppressed these on his accession to the throne—with the exception of the general seminary of the Rutenians in Galicia, which was preserved at the request of the bishops of that sect—and re-established the

old diocesan seminaries ; and since that period the education of youth preparing for the ministry has remained more especially under the charge of the spiritual diocesan authorities.

Every diocese has the right of possessing a seminary ; and in all places where there is an university, or a lyceum with a faculty of theology, the pupils of the seminaries must there pursue their theological studies. In the chief places of the dioceses, where there are no superior schools possessing a faculty of theology, a complete course of theology, organised after the plan prescribed for the universities, must be attached to each seminary. The professors of these theological schools must be duly examined as to their capabilities, and be furnished with legal titles ; the candidates for the chair being presented for approval to the administrative authority of the province, before being allowed to undergo their examination. These examinations take place at an university or a lyceum, with all the strictness and formality observed at the installation to a vacant chair in the university itself. After the examination, the examining professors make their report of the capability of the candidates to the provincial authorities, who transmit it with their opinion to the Aulic commission of education, which decides on the admissibility of the candidates to the functions of a professor.

None but the works prescribed by the uni-

versities for theological studies are permitted in the seminaries, and no pupil is admitted without having passed his obligatory course of philosophy; and the rules fixed by the universities, as to examinations, must, besides, be strictly observed in these establishments. It is only on such conditions that the religious orders are allowed to institute schools of theology for their pupils.

The order of Piarists, which devotes itself to the education of youth, is alone authorised to have schools of philosophy, and to prepare its pupils for theological studies; but, in order to facilitate the philosophical studies of young people preparing for theology, there have been established in some localities, at a distance from the large towns and universities, special schools of philosophy (*Philosophische Lehr-Anstalten*) under the immediate direction of the bishop of the diocese, and the control of the administrative authority of the province. It is mentioned, in the Rescript sanctioning these establishments, that it is also with a view of preventing youths destined for the priesthood from being interrupted in their studies by the distractions which beset them in large towns. The convents, monasteries, and chapters (*Stifte*) of the province, furnish the professors for these establishments at their own expense.

Bishops are enjoined to take the necessary steps in the arrangements of their seminaries, that youths destined for the priesthood shall reside

upon the premises, at least, from the time when they begin their theological studies. All theological studies, with the exception of pastoral theology, are conducted in Latin; and hence no pupils are admitted who have not attained to some proficiency in that language. In preparing themselves for this course by that of philosophy, the pupils are enjoined to apply themselves especially to psychology. No person is admitted to an examination, however competent he may be to pass it, who has followed a course of private studies.

It has been admitted that the students in theology, being over-tasked by a multiplicity of matter, which belongs to the higher part of the science, could not give sufficient application to those portions which are indispensable to the priesthood. To remedy the evil, therefore, the professors are desired to distinguish in their lectures those points which may be considered purely scientific, from those which are absolutely necessary and indispensable to a theologian, and especially to such as are preparing themselves for the priestly office with the cure of souls. To facilitate the pupils, also, in the use of the books which serve as the basis of their studies, the most important passages, and those possessing the greatest utility, are distinguished by a different character of print. All that constitutes the doctrines of the science, with the necessary proofs and explanations, being inserted in the form of paragraphs;

while that which is altogether scientific, with its complication of proofs, and refinement of hypotheses, is given in the form of scholia.

With regard to the studies indispensable for admission into holy orders, the most important, and those which must obtain, on examination, a first-class certificate, to be admissible into the higher orders, are —

Ecclesiastical Law,  
Moral and Pastoral Theology,  
Catechism,  
Pedagoguy.

It being the main object of the theological schools to form instructors and ministers of religion, worthy of the vocation, and capable of exercising it beneficially, it follows that the course of study is concentrated on dogmatism and morality. All the auxiliary sciences, such as history, biblical archæology, and the knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, are treated so as to serve as a preparatory instruction in the solid and natural exposition of dogmatism and morality. In the examinations on these two subjects, it is enjoined on the directors that in all proofs drawn from Holy Writ, the original text shall not be lost sight of, and that less importance shall be attached to the multitude of passages alleged as proofs, than to the power and solidity of the argument which may be drawn from them.

Independently of the faculties of theology in the universities, there exists in Vienna a special establishment for the instruction, in theology, of the secular clergy (*Hohere Bildungs-Anstalt für Weltpriester*), which bears some analogy to the ancient *Sorbonne* in Paris, without, however, exercising the scientific and political influence which that institution had on public and general instruction. The main object of this establishment consists in perfecting the scientific education of young ecclesiastics, so as to render them fit to perform the duties of professors, and of heads of seminaries; who, in their turn, shall train those placed in their charge to become fit members of the priesthood. There are thirty-six scholarships, but none, saving young priests distinguished for their piety and moral and intellectual qualifications, are admitted. The studies pursued are:—sacred philosophy, the *commentationes patristicæ*, the doctrines of the councils, theological literature, the characteristic history of the Bible, and of the fathers of the Church, the modern history and statistics of the Church, the history of dogmas, &c. The institution was founded by the Abbé Frint, afterwards Bishop of St. Pölten, and has produced two bishops, two canons, and sixty professors of theology. It is under the direction of the minister of the imperial chapel at Vienna.

As regards the position and policy of Austria, it is shown, in the foregoing pages, that the



system of studies prescribed by the state is in perfect keeping with its principles of government ; acting always on the defensive, and jealous lest any thing should intrude itself opposed to the prerogatives of the civil authority, the laws of the country, or the rights of the sovereign. With respect to instruction in ecclesiastical law, it need only be briefly stated, that the broadest distinction is made between the spiritual and temporal authorities, and that all controversies, as to the independence of the temporal over the spiritual power, as to the immunities belonging to the ecclesiastical order, as to the rights of the sovereign to decree laws of mortmain, and to fix the age of taking vows, &c., are forbidden ; such discussions, it is alleged, belonging properly to former ages and not to the present time.

This closing argument is a veil thrown over the governing principle of the empire, to attempt to conceal its jealous fear of having its privileges touched upon, or an enquiry made into its rights ; but, clearly as this veil is seen through, it shrouds the empire like a pall, which, corpse-like, rests beneath it. The regulations of the date 1810 state, further, that all theological discussions are entirely out of rule : that the real object of instruction in ecclesiastical law embraces only the knowledge of the laws existing on the subject in Austria, with the addition only of such citations from the common church law as may

be necessary to define the existing code, and to indicate the most material deviations. A work called "Church Law," by Rechberger, was the former text-book on this subject; but it being written in some respects in the philosophical spirit of the Josephenian era, it was put on the proscribed list in 1834.

Jewish children, as has been stated, are admitted into the general schools, and an elementary book, called the *Bne-zion*, both moral and religious in its tendency, has been sanctioned for their use. Written in a popular style, it contains (apart from some dissertations which are misplaced) the most excellent precepts, founded for the most part on the Old Testament, and applicable to those duties, which man, as a member of society, owes to himself, his family, his neighbour, and his country. Efforts are made in it to combat the religious prejudices of the Jews against other nations, and to withdraw them from their practice of fraudulent dealing. Usury and agiotcy are stigmatised as immoral, and as forbidden by religion. The youths are encouraged to devote themselves to agriculture and to honourable professions, to become useful citizens, and to ingratiate themselves in the good opinion of the Christian community. Precocious marriages are also discouraged, on account of the pernicious consequences resulting from them.

From a desire not to prescribe anything which

might offend the fundamental dogmas of the Mosaic law, nor disturb the consciences of those professing them, this book has not been introduced into the Jewish schools without the sanction of the Rabbi of Nicolsburg, a man of great talents and highly respected by his co-religionists, and his opinion in favour of the principles it contains forms the heading of the volume.

In order to encourage popular instruction among the Hebrew children, their parents are forbidden to have them taught from the Talmud, unless they are provided with a certificate from the schoolmaster of the place they inhabit, to prove that they have gone through their course of elementary instruction in a satisfactory manner.

Jews affianced to one another, on applying to the authorities for permission to be married, must submit to an examination in this book *Bne-zion*, and prove that they have learnt the German language fundamentally. The Israelitish population, particularly in Galicia—where, as throughout all Poland, they are more numerous than in the other provinces of the empire—cling with such pertinacity to their religious prejudices, and to all the peculiarities which distinguish them from the Christians, that they obstinately resist all the attempts made to civilise them, and evade all the laws, whether political or administrative, as far as possible: for instance, to obviate the obligation of attending the schools, and of obtaining the

necessary permission to marry, numbers of them contract themselves by vows of conscience, without the intervention of the civil powers.

Scholastic legislation in Austria presents the most marked contrast in comparison with that of other German states. The system of its universities does not sanction that licence of study to which the universities of other countries attach so much importance. It is necessary to conform to the obligatory conditions of an examination in order to gain admission to the academical studies, and it is not permitted to pass from one course to a second without undergoing an examination; even the privilege of pursuing the studies at all is subject to a standard of proficiency. Few of these conditions have existence in other German universities. In Prussia, for instance, there are mature examinations for such scholars as have completed their preparatory studies in a gynosium to prove that they are sufficiently qualified to enter on the superior course of instruction in the university; but these examinations are in fact mere indices and criterions for the scholars and their friends, and by no means form a condition or *sine quâ non* for their admission. The object is to satisfy the scholar as to the point of instruction he must have attained in order to be able to pursue the higher studies to which he is to be introduced, and to let him judge for himself whether he be sufficiently qualified; but the

result, even if it should not be satisfactory, does not necessarily exclude him from frequenting the schools of the university; he is at liberty to take his own chance of disappointment at an unsatisfactory termination to his studies, and the authorities, having performed their duty, interfere no further. In Austria the case is altogether different: a scholar failing to pass his examination is absolutely excluded from the university classes. This system may have its advantages, but it must doubtless be often unjust in its rigorous and indiscriminate application; for if a pupil should quit a gymnasium at an age when his mediocre intellects are not sufficiently developed, or when his judgment is not sufficiently matured to feel the importance of education, and to devote himself to it with zeal, it by no means follows that his capacity will always remain dull and limited. It is possible for him to make up for his deficiencies, and to compensate for former neglect by steady application and attention: such cases are by no means unfrequent.

The laws of Austria require imperatively of those who attend the universities with the intention of preparing themselves for any public position which demands a scientific education, that they shall scrupulously follow those studies which constitute and complete such education, according to the plan laid down by the authorities, and forbid them from founding a claim on a successful examination on any portion taken singly.

The students in the Austrian universities have no jurisdictional privileges, but are subject to the general laws and authorities, and hence their conduct is free from singularity and boisterousness. Mingled with the rest of the population, without any distinguishing marks or rights, they do not seek to render themselves remarkable by any extravagance of dress or conduct, after the manner of students in other states. There are about five thousand students in Vienna, exclusive of those belonging to the gymnasiums and other special establishments; and yet cases of scandal or disorder are of the rarest occurrence. It would appear, however, that the watchful eye and severe regulations of the Government conduce more to this state of things than the temper of the students themselves, who at heart are identical with those of other states, who have taken a conspicuous part in the tumultuous scenes which have of late so frequently occurred:—of this the Viennese students have given practical evidence. The university of Vienna enjoyed in former years the prerogative of a jurisdictional privilege, extending equally over civil and criminal concerns; but this immunity, confirmed by several emperors, and by two bulls of the Popes Martin V. and Leo X., was suppressed by the Emperor Joseph.

The university of Vienna, and indeed those of Austria generally, are held in little estimation in other parts of Europe. No professor of distinction

nor work of celebrity have ever thrown a lustre over them. It has been asked whether this is attributable to the character of the country itself, or to the spirit of the Government? Unquestionably, to the latter, which fetters the exertion of the human intellect by coercing its energies, and by attempting to mould every capacity after the same model. It may also be added, that the professor, and the man of science and of letters, do not enjoy the same consideration in Austria, nor meet with the same encouragement as in other countries.

There is no academy of science in Vienna, no recognised public body, which unites within itself, as in other capitals of Europe, men remarkable for their capacity and merit: hence there is no point of emulation and of encouragement, no Areopagus to judge of works of genius, and to decide on questions which relate to the progress of science. Such questions, together with every thing which relates to public instruction, and to the organisation and support of schools, receive their final adjudication in the Aulic commission of studies, (*Studien-Hof-Commission*), which unites within itself the incompatible attributes of an administrative authority and of a scientific body. The chancery of this commission forms a part of the office of the Aulic chancery, which exercises the functions of the interior or home department: hence it frequently occurs that some official, in

charge of the duties of the administration, which has nothing in common with the scientific world, becomes at the same time the arbitrator of matters purely scientific.

Some enlightened and well-intentioned men have raised their voices against the application of this bureaucratic system to scientific subjects; and a hope is entertained that this has not been in vain. There is even some idea of instituting an academy of science in Vienna, or some association analogous to it; but the objection does not exist so much in the political views of the Government as in the opposition offered by the bureaucracy, which plays so important a part in the internal political system of the empire.

Chilled by the restrictions of a censorship more rigorous and stringent than in any other of the German states, Literature in Austria possesses no character, and hardly a name. If the refining process were limited in its operations, and works objectionable in a moral point of view or dangerous in a political one, with others of exceptionable character, were alone excluded from publication and circulation, an excuse might readily be found for the maintenance of the system; but when a tyrannical and meddling authority is exercised, descending even to puerilities, genius revolts from the rule, and, rather than be controlled by official ignorance, narrow-minded prejudice, and intolerance, it refrains from the exercise of its powers,



and sinks into apathy. The works of Schiller are familiar as a household book; but if any of his plays be adapted to the stage, they must be submitted to the pruning-knife of the Censor. In his master-piece, *Wilhelm Tell*, every allusion to Austria is glossed over, and every passage breathing a spirit of independence, or of opposition, carefully expunged; which of itself is sufficient to awaken the feeling intended to be suppressed, and to undermine the insecure foundation on which the governing principle is established. Such acts give rise to comments unfavourable to the authorities, and even to the throne itself, and excite as much ridicule as does the compulsory obligation on the tradesman to submit his card for official approval, before he may venture to employ it in his business. This last-mentioned instance of petty interference is no exaggeration; and the defence of it, that such a man may in his presumption style himself *KK\**, or *bürgerlicher* †, when in fact he may be intitled to neither distinction, is equally ridiculous. A German writer takes credit for this argus-eyed watchfulness of the censorship, on the ground that it purges the publications of the day from all offensive and demoralising matter; at the same time he admits that it operates as a clog to the literature of the country, which thus possesses no popular influence. This, indeed, is sufficiently proved by the cha-

\* Kaiserlicher, Königlicher, (Imperial, Royal).

† Citizen.

racters of the works proceeding from the press: they range chiefly over natural history, geography, economy, physics, technology, medicine, mathematics, and law. The following table, though not of recent date, is a fair criterion of the number and quality of works published: it also shows that there is a decline rather than an advance in their number, which still continues.

	1832.	1833.
Moral and theological - - -	62	50
Scriptural, prayer, and books of instruction - - -	228	231
Sermons, religious tracts, &c. - - -	439	384
Natural rights - - -	25	51
Politics - - -	16	7
Medicine, surgery, &c. - - -	119	126
Clinical dissertations, &c. - - -	144	153
Philosophy - - -	26	25
Philology - - -	9	3
Astronomy - - -	9	4
History and biography - - -	216	111
Physics and chemistry - - -	20	24
Mathematics and geometry - - -	31	43
Domestic economy and technology - - -	48	59
Natural history - - -	15	25
Agriculture - - -	23	16
Poetry and drama - - -	197	151
Poems - - -	256	233
Music - - -	51	48
State intelligence - - -	8	10
Geography, ethnography, and travels - - -	106	96
Military details - - -	8	5
Children's books - - -	76	71
Grammars, dictionaries, &c. - - -	103	94
Novels, tales, fables - - -	231	198
Almanacs, calendars, pocket-books - - -	195	160
Miscellaneous - - -	93	106
Total - - -	2754	2484

In the book-catalogue of the Leipzig Easter fair of 1835, only 216 Austrian works appear in a list of 3164 German publications; and in 1839 only 180 out of 3127. This requires no comment.

The united literature of Austria comprises several languages and nations; but what may be termed the strictly national, consists of German, Italian, Slavonic, and Hungarian: the branches are Latin, modern Greek, Hebrew and Oriental; but the chief are German and Italian. A great portion of the empire is naturally, from its position, in a very benighted state. The province under the Enns, which contains the capital, excels all others in its progress, and in its support of the press; while in the Tyrol, Styria, Carylthia, and Carniola, literature is at a very low scale, from local causes and position.

The Germans resident in Hungary possess higher scientific endowments than the numerous Slavish population; and Upper Hungary especially shows a strong preference for German literature. Among the Germans in Transylvania, standard works are rarely found: this arises partly because the distance and the barrier of the Carpathians shut them out from ready communication with their brethren in other provinces, and partly because their position among the neighbouring races, speaking different languages, and of different religions and manners, is not favourable to mental acquirements.

In the course of the last half century, Hungarian literature has raised itself considerably. The number of works written in the national language has exceeded those published in German and Sclavonian during the same period. The movement began with a multitude of glees and songs, which found an admirable concord in the lively spirit of the Magyars, and received a powerful stimulus in the zealous cultivation of the Hungarian language; for, since they have been set to new words and been raised to a higher character, the productions in Hungarian literature have been materially on the increase. At the present day, that language, once banished, and only kept alive in the schools of the Reformers, is becoming more and more the ordinary medium of communication: the literary prospects of Hungary assume, therefore, a more favourable appearance, and would be even important were the population of the towns greater, and the competition of talent more active. Lyrical poems, theological works, dramatic writings, and elementary books, form the greatest proportion of the present Hungarian literature.

Sclavonian literature divides itself, according to the different dialects of the race, into Bohemian, Polish, Slovakisch, Serbisch, and Windisch; for the Slaves do not possess any national written language in common. Among these sections, the Czechens and their progenitors, the

Moravians, were the first who gave symptoms of life, and among them the greatest number of authors is still found. They flourished, however, most in the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, at a period when the neighbouring nations had made but little progress in the field of literature. The Bohemian language was then at its highest point of refinement and perfection, and furnished a large number of works in history and polite literature; but this golden era was followed by religious disturbances, emigration, and the miseries of civil war, which consummated its downfall. The German language is used in the transactions of life, and in the higher order of schools; but the Bohemian is gradually resuming its position as the national tongue. For a long period, no publication issued from the press, because the higher classes knew nothing of the language—which had indeed been interdicted in the courts and in all public affairs—and because German works were poured in from all sides, and became the sole medium of information. In recent times, several literati and partisans have exerted themselves to revive the proscribed language, and to cause its general adoption: their labours have not been unsuccessful, and the prejudices of the Austrian government must eventually succumb to the popular feeling.

Polish literature has experienced the same fate. The former kingdom of Poland was zealous in the

cultivation of its language, and a multitude of works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first of a theological, and afterwards of poetical and historical characters, give convincing proofs of the encouragement given to the arts and sciences. But here, also, internal troubles and external influences changed the position of affairs, and extinguished the light of learning. In Galicia at the present day but few authors in the Polish language have appeared, and recent events seem to threaten the entire extinction of the race. Poetry, theology, and history have formed the subjects of original writings, and translations from German and French works have appeared in considerable numbers.

However natural causes may interfere with the progress of literature, and limit its extension to particular districts, it is abundantly evident that its mature growth, under the restriction of a watchful censorship, is but that of a stunted and unhealthy plant, feeding on an impoverished soil, whose virtues are poisoned, and its vitality deadened, by blight and other noxious agencies.

Among a population greater by one-half than that of England, only thirty newspapers are in circulation; that is, as issuing from the Austrian press. Foreign journals are not altogether prohibited, but they are subjected to a severe scrutiny before they are permitted to reach the public; and Hungarian ones, if printed in the

national tongue, are altogether suppressed. The Austrian papers contain a mere sketch of political events in foreign parts, and are altogether silent on their own as well as on all judicial and police intelligence; indeed the meagre sheet contains little else than literary notices, economical disquisitions, and theatrical critiques.

Although the works of Schiller are in every one's hands, and are familiar to all, yet the representation on the stage of his noble tragedy, *Don Carlos*, was prohibited not many years since, because the love of the hero for Elizabeth was considered reprehensible; and in the *Jungfrau von Orleans*, Agnes Sorel was converted into the legitimate wife of Charles VII., from the fear of offending the delicacy or of shocking the *straitened morality* of the Viennese! While the custodian of the imperial library was forbidden to allow *l'Esprit des Lois* to be read, the novels of Crebillon and the Decameron of Boccaccio were widely circulated; licentious works were tolerated, and serious ones exclusively suppressed.

The evils produced by improper publications are only to be counteracted by the good tendency of wholesome books. Whatever dangers may be feared from the activity of intelligence can only be avoided by adding to its powers. There are but two courses to be pursued in all circumstances, — either the avoidance of danger or the resistance to it by the acquisition of fresh strength ;

the latter remedy is the only one suited to the present age, in which innocence can find no protection in ignorance. So much is spoken and written, and so many sophisms are advanced in the present day, that knowledge has become essential to form the mind and to correct the judgment, particularly since the time has passed when opinions and ideas descended like a patrimonial inheritance. It is essential not to stifle information but to extend its limits, in order that its scattered beams may not present things to the mind in false lights. No government can hope to succeed for any length of time in withholding from a powerful nation a knowledge of and participation in the spirit which actuates mankind, and impels the age in its onward career; that spirit, namely, which contains within itself the elements of power and of greatness, and which can be converted to the most beneficial account, when the fear of admitting it to the investigation of every question does not exist; then it is that the antidote against transitory evils is found in the eternal truths, and that the maintenance of order, and the bands of strength, spring up from liberty itself.



## RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE state religion of Austria is the Roman Catholic, and, acknowledging the Pope as its visible head, is subservient to the patriarchal chair of Rome. All regulations and decisions in doctrinal and spiritual matters are subject to the Church under the eye of the government; but in all other points the state claims authority and independent power, as material to its political welfare. All nominations and appointments must receive the sanction of the sovereign, and no interference of the Pope with the chapters and monasteries is permitted.

The proper high authorities in spiritual matters, and in the cure of souls in the dioceses, are the archbishops and bishops; and each of them exercises a spiritual jurisdiction in his peculiar district. The archbishops and metropolitans preside over one or several dioceses, which represent an ecclesiastical province, and have several bishops as suffragans under them.

According to the present division of the empire, there are twelve archbishoprics, fifty-nine bishoprics, and two vicar-generalships.\* This eccle-

\* See Appendix, Note E.

siastical division was settled partly in the reign of the Emperor Joseph II. (1783, 1786); and partly, as regards Dalmatia and Illyria, it has been the result of recent regulations, which, with reference to the internal economy and other interests of the sees in those kingdoms, were the subject of treaty with the papal chair in 1816—1831. These arrangements also included the union of several bishoprics and the conversion of the archbishoprics of Spolato, Ragusa, and Udine into bishoprics, and the elevation of the bishopric of Görz into an archbishopric. According to this settlement, and independent of the archbishoprics and vicar-generalships, Hungary has sixteen bishops, the Venetian States ten, Lombardy eight, Illyria six, Dalmatia five, Bohemia three bishops, and the Tyrol and Styria one each; the two provinces of Upper and Lower Austria, Moravia, the Military frontiers, and Transylvania, having also only one each. Besides these, Hungary reckons twenty-two titular bishops, many of whom are named to churches which are still in possession of the Turks.

Transylvania, Styria, Carnynthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, have no archbishops; their bishops being suffragan to the archbishop of the adjoining provinces.

The archbishops and bishops exercise spiritual jurisdiction and control in all ecclesiastical matters, and over all ecclesiastical persons in their

dioceses, under the powers conferred on them by the laws of the Church and State. The latter requires of them that they shall neither publish nor countenance any orders, pastoral charges, circulars, bulls, briefs or decrees, before they shall have been submitted to and approved of by the government. In addition to the many other important obligations on them, the duty of these dignitaries comprises the charge of the clergy of their dioceses, with respect to the faithful discharge of their functions, and the purity of their social intercourse; of the religious and moral conduct of the young persons in the diocesan seminaries training for the priesthood; of the legal occupation of benefices; of the control of the prebendal estates; and of the management of the German schools with reference to their religious and educational system, and the correct deportment of the teachers. The episcopal jurisdiction extends in fact only over spiritual matters which affect the belief and welfare of the soul, and over offences of a spiritual nature; but it must in all cases be in accordance with the national ecclesiastical law. An appeal of the second instance rests with the metropolitans; and in the third, by sanction of the government, with the papal see; for which purpose a particular bishop, as the delegated judge, is appointed. In Hungary, the appeal passes from the suffragan bishops to the archbishop; from him to the primate of the king-

dom, and subsequently, with consent of the king, to the court of Rome, from which an Hungarian bishop has been delegated to hear and determine on the circumstance in question.

The bishops are supported in the exercise of their ecclesiastical authority by their consistories or chapters, which colleges have been especially appointed in Austria, and represent to some extent the diocesan synods of ancient days. Only in Hungary occasionally, and with the consent of the sovereign, are synodal assemblies of the clergy convened, for the purpose of passing resolutions in moral, educational, and church matters. The consistories, in virtue of the authority deputed to them by their bishops, deal with the spiritual and temporal affairs of the church, and are at the same time the lawful agents in all the propositions and matters in spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns which have been sanctioned or ordained by the higher authorities. In this respect it lays with them to enforce the regulations for the welfare of the church received by the bishops from the reigning authorities, to notify them to the clergy of their dioceses, to institute enquiries into alleged attempts of the latter to exercise political influence, and to weigh maturely every proposition submitted to them. This plan of proceeding, by which all spiritual affairs are brought under an immediate province, makes the bishops and their consistories partly subject to the higher

political authorities, and partly on a level with them.

In the Hungarian provinces the sphere of the higher spiritual authorities is far more extensive, inasmuch as it comprehends within its range many political as well as judicial attributes. The diocesan forum, or the so-called "*Holy Chair*," takes into its cognizance not only spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, but affairs of honor among its communicants, testamentary delays arising from irregularity of form, and the crime of perjury. The chapters also, as well as many monasteries, are privileged as places of trust (*loca credibilia*) to take into their custody family archives and wills, to have their special seals, and to appoint procurators in order to establish a perfect confidence (*authentica fide*, dignity) in all their proceedings of a private nature.

The dioceses are divided into district vicarships, arch or land deaconries; and these again into livings, local chaplaincies, and curacies. The diocesan heads communicate direct with the vicars and deacons, and through them with the parish priests and inferior clergy, who hold a cure of souls in their districts under the inspection and direction of the bishop. This system, particularly since the regulations introduced, and the better division of the parishes effected by the Emperor Joseph II., and which provided for so many more priests and chaplains, has been productive of the best results.

Further improvements have also been subsequently introduced, and it may be said generally that both the political and ecclesiastical authorities use their best efforts to confer presentations only on those who have passed unexceptionable examinations in theology.

The number of the existing parishes and chaplaincies in the various provinces of the empire, including some few Armenian Catholics, is:

	Parishes. t	Chaplaincies.	Total Benefices.
In the Province of Lower Austria - - -	727	185	912
In the Province of Upper Austria - - -	479	47	526
Styria - - -	447	127	[574
Carynthia and Carniola -	452	189	641
Coast Land - - -	210	136	346
Tyrol - - -	355	287	642
Bohemia - - -	1348	413	1761
Moravia and Silesia -	634	389	1023
Galicia - - -	746	55	801
Dalmatia - - -	381	62	443
Lombardy - - -	2399	—	2399
Venice - - -	1615	—	1615
Transylvania - - -	212	38	250
Military Frontiers - -	317	—	317
			12,250

These parochial divisions are of unequal extent, as indeed they must be, from the distances and the difficulties of the roads; but in order to facilitate as much as possible the duties of the priest with his flock, large parishes are subdivided into several

districts, and many small and adjoining hamlets are united into one. There is no want of clergy for the efficient discharge of the services of the church, nor for the duties of instruction, which are divided generally among the secular and regular clergy.

The secular clergy, as all are termed in the Romish Church who are not subject to monastic rules, consists of archbishops, bishops, with their chapters and consistories, numerous provosts and canons in the collegiate churches, besides deacons, priests, chaplains, vicars and others.

The chapters subject to the bishops, and recognized by the state as special colleges endowed with corporate rights, have generally six, and some as many as twelve capitulars or provosts, and a number of honorary canons. Independently of being intrusted with the guardianship of religious discipline and the due performance of divine worship, which is the special duty of their members, they take the management of a diocese as regards the maintenance of the church during a vacancy in the bishopric, or when the presiding bishop invests them with consistorial powers. The actual number of chapters at this moment is 95, with 1013 members belonging to them.

The total number of the clergy in the different provinces, exclusive of Hungary, with the proportion they bear to the church and to the population belonging to the Romish Church, is, according to the last returns, as follows :

	No. of Clergy.	Average No. to each Benefice.	No. of Inhabitants to each Clergyman.
Lower Austria - -	1540	2	1046
Upper Austria - -	1094	2	901
Styria - -	1190	2	849
Carynthia and Carniola -	1287	2	633
Coast Land - -	1144	3	437
Tyrol - -	2754	4	329
Bohemia - -	3528	2	1233
Moravia and Silesia -	2122	2	973
Galicia - -	1504	2	2183
Dalmatia - -	1121	2	267
Lombardy - -	10,164	4	261
Venice - -	7454	4	230
Transylvania - -	301	1	2091
Military Frontiers -	525	2	973

The regular clergy (*Reguläreclerus*) comprehends the spiritual military orders of knighthood (*geistlich-militärischen Ritterorden*), besides numberless monasteries and convents.

1. The German Order. This order, consisting partly of knights and partly of priests, was at one time very generally extended throughout Germany, and most richly endowed, but since the two treaties of peace, those namely of Presburg in 1805, and of Vienna in 1809, it has undergone great changes both in matters of revenue and of political influence. According to the conditions of the former peace, it was settled that the dignity of Grand Master of the order, together with all its remaining possessions, rights, and revenues, should be hereditary in the direct male line, according to the law of primogeniture, of whatever prince of the Imperial



family his Majesty the Emperor should nominate. By the fourth article of the peace of Vienna, the Emperor Francis I. confirmed to the Archduke Antony, the then Grand Master, the same privileges, separating the order from any share of union in the Confederation of the Rhine, and disclaiming all title to its possessions in those states. He further conferred on the order the power of nominating its own head; a right which has also been sanctioned by the present emperor. In the execution of this right, the Archduke Maximilian of Este was elected to the Grand Mastership in 1835, on the death of the Archduke Antony. The order possesses the domains of Freudenthal and Eulenberg in Austrian Silesia and Moravia, the commandery of Austria, which contains those of Vienna, Grätz on the Lech, Ling, Laibach, Groszsonntag, Friesach, Sandhof, Meretinnen, Möttling, and Tschernembl. The distinctive badge is a golden black and white enamelled cross, surmounted by a helmet. In the year 1831, there were, besides the priestly members, only two commanders and two knights belonging to the order, but some few additions have been made since.

2. The Maltese Order (*Johanniterorden*) consists also of knights and priests. It possesses a grand priory in Bohemia, to which several commanderies both in Upper and Lower Austria are attached. The Grand Prior resides in Prague, and as temporal prince and primate of Bohemia has a seat

and voice at the Diet. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the order had sunk under the influence of opposing circumstances, a priorship was established in 1838, and the order revived in that quarter. The Maltese church, a residence in Venice, with a yearly pension of 2000 florins from the state, were settled as the endowment on the first priorship, to which soon after two commanderies, detached from the Romish priorship, were added, and others will subsequently be united to it, as the extension of the order, by the re-establishment of other commanderies as far as the law will admit, has been sanctioned by the reigning power.

The knights of the order must be noblemen, and when not mere honorary members, they must subject themselves to the three usual vows. Although the island of Malta no longer belongs to the order, it yet styles itself its sovereign, and among its representatives maintains a special one at the Court of Austria.

3. The Order of the Crusaders with the red star. Since the possessions of their order in Prussian Silesia have been secularised, it has become exclusively an Austrian distinction, whose head, the General and Grand Master, resides at Prague, and enjoys the rank of a count of the empire. The order possesses the commanderies of Eger and Brix, and the chapter of St. Mary Culm in Bohemia, the chapters of Pöltenburg and Znaim in Moravia, in the province of Lower Austria,

the commandery of St. Charles at Vienna, and in Hungary that of St. Sigismund at Ofen. The Bohemian deaconries of Elbogen, Carlsbad, and Tachau are also members of the order.

The feeling in favour of a canonical life, which was so prevalent in Austria in former centuries, has endowed numberless religious houses, monasteries, and convents, partly as asylums for the devout on their retirement from the world, partly for the educational purposes of youth, and partly for the reception of the sick. Most of these remain unchanged in their original intention and utility under different regulations and statutes. There are thus, for example, monks of the orders of St. Benedict and St. Augustin, mendicants, hermits, regular clergy, and many denominations of nuns.

Many changes, however, took place in the number and constitution of some of these establishments in the course of the last century. The most important of them were those which fixed a conformable age for the professions of those who inscribed themselves, which limited the acquisition of property by the means of mortmain, (both introduced by the Empress Maria Theresa), and which abolished the exemptions, and dissolved the connection which had existed between the monastic establishments of Austria Proper with its foreign provinces and their heads of houses. These last reforms were established by the Em-

peror Joseph II., who likewise effected a considerable reduction in the number of the convents, and fixed a limit for the number of their inmates: so that of the 2163 convents which existed in the year 1780, there remained only two-thirds at the expiration of nine years, and these were especially such as devoted themselves to the education of youth and the service of the sick; the property and revenue of the suppressed convents being applied to religious and educational purposes. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom also lost many of its convents during the time it was subject to the French empire; in the Venetian division alone, 356 monasteries and nunneries were suppressed.

A new and more propitious day dawned on the religious orders at the beginning of the present century, when, under the plea of directing the influence of religion to further the education and morality of the people, all the later reforms and innovations were cancelled. The condition of the spiritual orders was not only raised, but many establishments were either revived or created; such as the Benedictines, Cistercians, Franciscans, Barnabites, &c. The Jesuits, who up to the year 1827 were limited to Galicia, have since extended themselves into Styria and the Tyrol. In 1820, the Order of the Redeemer sprung up and settled itself in Lower Austria and in Styria. The Order of the Charitable Sisters, formerly existing only

in Galicia and in the Tyrol, has recently been allowed to extend its beneficial operations in aid of the sick to Vienna.

It is probably little known to what extent the monkish institutions prevail throughout Austria; and if their influence is not so much felt by the mass of the people, owing to their political and mental temperament, it is yet clear that they demonstrate most indisputably the ruling principle and bias of the sovereign.

Among the long list of monastic institutions \*, that of the Charitable Brethren is one of the most remarkable. It devotes itself exclusively to the care of the sick, without distinction of country or religion, comprehending, inclusive of Hungary, 29 convents with 450 brethren; and it is estimated that the number of sick to whom they administer their gratuitous aid, amounts to 26,000 souls annually. The value of this institution is immense, and fully understood by the poor, who regard it as a home in sickness, and where they know that the utmost attention and the first medical aid is bestowed upon them; and certainly the greatest gratitude is felt by all who have been compelled to seek its shelter.

The various nunneries contain 2845 members, consisting of nuns, novices, and lay-sisters. The most numerous are the Ursulines, the Benedictines,

\* See Appendix, Note F.

the Charitable Sisters, and Salesianes, out of a list of eighteen orders possessing ninety-six convents. Several of them devote themselves exclusively to the work of education;—one, the Elizabethan, occupies itself with the care of the sick, and the Charitable Sisters engage in both.

The monastic life absorbs a mass of more than 10,000 persons out of the population, and there are besides upwards of 1800 others, who have either dedicated themselves to monastic obligations or are preparing themselves for the purpose.

The income of all these institutions is estimated at 3,000,000 florins (300,000*l.*). Some of them, especially those in the provinces of Upper and Lower Austria, and in Bohemia, are richly endowed by the receipt of tithes, or as the owners of very considerable estates; while those in Italy and in Dalmatia are extremely poor.

The Church, with regard to its means of maintaining its clergy and institutions, is extremely rich in temporalities. Most of its funds arise from private endowments of early times, and many from dotations from the Treasury; and all are strictly secured and protected against alienation or mortgage, and are placed entirely under the superintendence of the higher political and spiritual authorities.

The stipends of the individual clergy consist partly in surplice fees, and partly in endowments, plots of land, tithes, or in payments from

the national funds. They vary extremely in amount, but among some of the higher clergy, particularly in Hungary, and in some benefices, they are very large. The income of the archbishop of Gran is estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000 florins, and of him at Olmütz at from 200,000 to 300,000: many bishops in Hungary also are in the yearly receipt of between 20,000 and 50,000 florins. The united incomes of the ten Venetian bishoprics amount to 82,000 florins, which gives an average of about 8000; and for the last created bishops in Bohemia, an income of 12,000 florins has been fixed. The archbishop of Salzburg has 20,000 florins; and in Dalmatia, the greatest part of the bishops receive only from 3000 to 5000 florins yearly.

Although many of the lower clergy are in possession of well-appointed livings of the annual value of several thousands of florins, yet a very considerable number linger on in poverty and neglect, on a miserable stipend of from 200 to 500 florins, a sum inadequate to supply the necessities of life. This is particularly the case in Dalmatia, where a better maintenance and regard for the priests is imperiously called for. Collectively, the value of the benefices in the German and in the Galician and Bohemian provinces is estimated at 4,300,000 florins, and in those of Italy at 2,300,000.

The religious funds of the respective provinces

are applied to meet the expenses of the churches, where the absence of local means and of benefactions renders it necessary. The possessions of the suppressed monasteries and of other religious societies were dedicated by the Emperor Joseph II. to this purpose, and eventually also to assist the needy clergy. Such funds exist in all the provinces, excepting in those of Italy, where the treasury has to supply every deficiency. These funds are in charge of the provincial authorities, and the bishops in connection with them see to their proper application; but although they amount to the sum of 2,700,000 florins, the state allows yearly an additional million to improve the condition of many of the clergy and church establishments.

However badly the clergy of the Romish Church may be provided for, those of the Protestant persuasion are much more so. As they have none of the endowments to assist them which in earlier days were lavishly bestowed on the Romish Church, the maintenance of the clergy and the expenses incident on the celebration of divine worship are almost entirely a charge on the followers of that faith. The government contributes, however, a certain sum to the members of the two evangelical consistories at Vienna, as public officials, and makes some small allowance to the superintendents and elders, as well as to some of the clergy in the provinces; who



receive from their congregation a certain stipulated income, which is so trifling, that the best preferments do not exceed 70*l.* or 80*l.* a year, as they receive no tithes, and in the German and Bohemian provinces are not privileged to take surplice fees, and but seldom have a residence assigned to them.

A great difference exists in the civil and political rights of the people as regards their connection with the state, according to the nature of their religious creeds. In the ancient little markgravinge of Austria, the Romish Church was the prevailing one, and in the present day it embraces the greatest portion of the empire within its pale; so that it may be called essentially a Roman Catholic country, not only from the majority of the inhabitants professing that faith, but also from the preference and advantages given to its followers over all others, and the marked desire of the government to advance its interests by encouragement and by every possible protection. The most remarkable of these demonstrations are the public and solemn performance of divine worship universally throughout the empire; the restrictive conditions attached to the conversion from Romanism to Protestantism; and the compulsion that all children born from a mixed marriage must be brought up in the Romish faith, if the father belongs to that creed. To these may be added its rich and exclusive

endowments, and widely-spread religious and educational establishments. With respect to the followers of the Reformed and of the Greek Churches, the Austrian government ascribes to itself great merit for permitting them the free exercise of their religious worship and peculiarities of education, with the full enjoyment of their civil rights. The Jews, also, it is said, must feel with gratitude the improved position in which they have been placed within the last few years; but this is an *ex parte* statement, for if they are able to confess that their situation is improved now, it must formerly have been intolerably severe. Many Jews are natives of Vienna, and enjoy (if such a term is not misapplied) the privilege of residence; but a traveller or non-resident coming to the city for the purposes of business may not reside beyond a fortnight, without special permission from the police, and the payment of a stated fine, and he must besides reside at an inn during his stay.

Both the political and civil condition of the Anti-Romanists and Jews varies considerably throughout the empire. As regards the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, the distinction is not great. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, all sects of Christians which are tolerated in Austria are placed on the same footing as the Romanists. In Transylvania, the national law recognises the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Reformed,

and Unitarian Churches as the four accepted and privileged churches, and gives to the Protestants the same rights and immunities as to the Romanists. In Hungary, the Protestants have not only the right to freedom of worship, but also to the public celebration of it, privileges first accorded to them by the conventions of Vienna and Linz (1606 and 1645), but which having been afterwards considerably abrogated, were fully reconfirmed, first by a patent of toleration in the year 1781, and finally by the Diet of Presburg in 1791. They are thereby eligible for public situations, with the privilege of being land proprietors, of establishing their own schools, of regulating their own religious endowments, of holding synods by royal permission, and of being free from all control of the bishops of the Romish Church. As the Roman Catholics form the majority of the population, they engross to themselves the public situations and dignities; and the Protestants, therefore, on their side, in all their communities and districts, elect men from their own creed to fill the offices in their control.

In the year 1781, the emperor Joseph II. issued letters of toleration, which first gave the Protestants a quiet and permanent position, as regards their political and civil rights, in the German and Bohemian provinces, and this new era of peace has not subsequently been disturbed by his successors. The Protestants in Galicia

are indebted to Maria Theresa for their free exercise of worship.

In conformity, therefore, with the toleration accorded to them in the German and Bohemian provinces, the Protestants enjoy the free, and, as was formerly the case in some parts of Silesia\*, the public exercise of their religion, and, with some restrictions, the benefits of civic rights. They may possess freehold lands and houses, are admissible to academical dignities and to civil offices, by virtue of a dispensation which is easily attainable; and, as some weight is attached to the character and competency of candidates for civil employments, many of this faith hold offices in the court and under the government, and some are even appointed to important trusts. In all cases where a registered population of one hundred families or of five hundred souls exists, they are permitted to erect a house of worship, but without either bells, tower, or portico, and they may provide their own schools; but, as this privilege is one only of toleration and favour, and is not meant to prejudice the position of the Romish priesthood, the payment of the usual surplice fees is peremptorily enjoined on the

\* By the convention of peace with Sweden, which was further confirmed 1707—1709, the Protestants in Silesia received a solemn guarantee of their religious rights. The Lutheran and Reformed churches in Trieste have the same immunity.

Protestants. It is only in Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia that they are excluded from holding freeholds and any public appointments, although the exercise of their religion is accorded to them.

The members of the Greek Church are included in the same act of toleration, and enjoy in the German and Bohemian provinces the same rights as the Protestants. In Bukowina, where, on its annexation to the empire, the Greek Church was the prevailing one, and essentially that of the state, its relations continue under its own peculiar regulations. In Hungary and Transylvania, where this religion is not recognised by the state, its members are allowed its free exercise. In Hungary, the Military frontiers, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, they are competent to hold estates and public offices, and their archbishop and bishops have a seat and voice at the Diet.

The Jewish population of Austria is subject to different regulations in the different provinces, which are to some extent founded on the local peculiarities and habits of the race, but in general they are treated with greater liberality than they experienced in former years. The Austrian government has removed many of the humiliating distinctions, such as the poll-tax and the sumptuary laws respecting their dress, which had before made an obnoxious distinction between them and the Christian world, and since the reign of the Emperor Joseph II. has consider-

ably added to their temporal and spiritual welfare by enlarging their trading privileges, by improving their education, and by conceding to them some participation of civil rights. It is alleged, that the peculiar customs and opinions of the Jews, and the adherence of many of the provinces to their constitutional privileges, were, up to a certain time, the cause of withholding from them the enjoyment of common rights, and of exacting the payment of certain fines and penalties, as was particularly the case in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Hungary, and in Austria under the Enns.

The Jews experienced the greatest favour and protection from the authorities in the former kingdom of Poland, where they consequently increased considerably; but a very large number of them were transferred to Austria, when, on the dismemberment of the kingdom, Galicia was annexed to the empire. The Kings of Bohemia and the Markgrafs of Moravia also extended to the Jews several immunities, but subsequently, in the year 1725, withdrew them, and restricted the Jewish population to a certain number of families. This having been, however, somewhat increased, was in 1789 definitely fixed at 8000 for Bohemia, and 5,400 for Moravia, without power of extension, while the increase to the Jewish population in Galicia has been subject to no restriction, excepting that the immigration

of any of the races into Lemberg or the Bukowina, is forbidden. It is not allowed in the Bohemian and Moravian provinces for more than one son of any of the privileged families to marry, and the second son, or the grandson, is only entitled to the right by marrying into a family of which all the males are extinct. In all these three provinces the Jews possessed already from the olden time the right of carrying on wholesale trades, fabrics and manufactures, of exercising different crafts, and of selling their produce; and under the Emperor Joseph II. they received full protection for their persons and property, which finally put a stop to the alternate systems of toleration and persecution, which had been carried out in many of the provinces. They are allowed the free exercise of their religion, are permitted generally to secure their own means of subsistence, to enter into the legal and medical professions, to establish schools on the Christian model, to frequent the high schools of education, and to hold public stipendiary offices; they are, however, excluded from certain things, such as hiring land, mills, and public-houses, the trade of an apothecary, the farming of tithes, &c. They have no claim on the public service, and must pay an exchequer-tax for the erection of a synagogue or cemetery. They are, besides, bound to conform to all the duties of a subject, and to the obligations of military service; the higher ranks of which are, however, accessible to them.

In the province of Lower Austria, where it was formerly attempted to expel them, they are still not allowed to engage in any trade or manufactory, unless they are located as actual residents. In Vienna itself there are privileged and stranger Jews: the former being permitted to carry on trades, but without the enjoyment of civic rights, to engage in the liberal arts, to establish fabrics and manufactories, and to exercise the professions of physician and advocate; but they may not possess real property. The stranger Jews must confine themselves to the sale and purchase of goods, and to the routine of business connected with such transactions, during the period of residence allowed them by the police; the limit of which is not permitted to be exceeded, except on petition and the payment of a fine.

Styria, which was once inhabited by a numerous and wealthy body of Jews, possesses the singular and arbitrary right of excluding them altogether from its limits; a right which it purchased in 1497 of the Emperor Maximilian I., for the sum of 38,000 florins. The same monarch expelled the Jews also from the dukedoms of Carynthia and Carniola (1496), and in the year 1519 they were compelled to withdraw from Transylvania, by the command of Leonard, Archbishop of Keutschach; but the Emperor Joseph permitted them to attend the annual fair at



Grätz, and a further concession was made in their favour as regarded those of Klagenfurth, Laibach, and Linz.

The Jews in Hungary were formerly the principal farmers of the revenue, and possessed the greatest monied influence, but were driven out of the kingdom by Louis the Great. Sigismond again admitted them, and since that time they have been permitted to remain unrestricted either in their religion or their worldly occupations, on the payment, however, of a small tax for the protection afforded them, and under the injunction that they might not reside in the mountainous districts: hence their settlements in the divisions of Bacs, Solth, Honth, and Gümär were broken up. They are excluded from all public offices, and from the possession of freehold lands; but they may hire the latter, and farm the public revenue, with the exception of the custom-house. They are tolerated in many parts of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia; but in Croatia they are restricted to those towns which they inhabited in 1791.

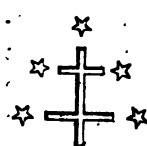
The Unitarians in Transylvania form one of the four creeds recognised by the state, and possess equal rights with the members of the Romish Church: on this account the citizens of the two Armenian free towns of the country have the same prerogatives as the Hungarians, although the Armenian church is not protected by the state.

Religious toleration in Austria is not only authorised by statute, but is looked upon as a matter of fact and right by the followers of the different creeds. The distrust, the aversion, and the intolerance which once kept the Romish and the other churches in open enmity, have almost entirely disappeared, and the greatest harmony prevails in the intercourse among their different members. Mixed marriages are not unusual, and assistance in times of distress is not withheld from each other. Religious disputations are extremely rare, and if in some places objections are raised against the Jews, it is less on account of their faith than the peculiar customs of the race.

Religion in Austria is a machine, constructed and worked to strengthen the arm of the state, and to confirm the subjection of its people: thus there is no medium between bigotry and the most complete callousness. The enlightened man of the world, who detects the moving principle, and, repudiating the doctrines and forms which are irreconcilable with his reason, is yet afraid to disavow them, because his position and subsistence may depend on his supposed adherence to the church, becomes indifferent; while the fanatic and weak-minded lend themselves to every superstition, and, bowing implicitly to the forms prescribed to them, cannot distinguish between real devotion and idolatrous observances. The present members of the imperial family are par-

ticularly devoted and submissive to the Romish church, joining publicly in its ceremonies, and seizing every opportunity of showing their zeal in its cause. Both the reigning empress and the empress-mother—as the widow and fourth wife of the late monarch is called, though she had no children—are great enthusiasts, and devote themselves almost exclusively to the duties enjoined by the church; there is not an anteroom in the thickly inhabited palace which has not appended on its walls a weekly circular denoting the various ceremonies of the church to be performed, the requiems and masses for departed members of the family to be said, and the celebration of saints to be observed. The public, when divested of their superstitious feelings, are not of a religious character, as we understand the term, and are accustomed to treat sacred subjects with familiarity, and, indeed, to apply them in a manner little short of blasphemy, not only without hindrance, but in a way which proves that the priesthood are satisfied with anything that places the idea of faith, however mistaken, in the front rank. Thus we see monuments to the Trinity, with the three persons represented, and a strange imitation of a pillar of cloud studded with little angels, and surrounded with allegorical devices, planted in the great square of almost every town. The system of distinguishing the shops by various signs is made the vehicle of a profane application

of sacred subjects to worldly purposes. The representation of the Holy Ghost descending as a dove (*zum Heiligen Geist*) is adopted by some shopkeepers; and the figure of Christ, as the healing physician, indicates the apothecary's business. The inn distinguished by the sign of an eye surrounded with rays, calls itself the Eye of God; and the wayside village house of entertainment has inscribed over its entrance the words of the disciples of Emmaus, "Abide with us, for it is towards evening, and the day is far spent;" and further, the crucifixes, which abound, particularly towards the Bavarian frontier, are occasionally decorated with bunches of grapes, like a heathen offering to Bacchus for an abundant vintage. At the eastern exterior of the cathedral at Vienna is a large allegorical painting, before which people may be constantly seen on their knees; many a passer-by, if he be in haste, touches a particular stone, and then kisses the hand which touched it: this is also common at Prague, where a small brass cross is let into the balustrade of the bridge, to indicate the spot where the statue of St. John Nepomuk formerly stood. It is recorded of this Saint that he was thrown from the bridge into the river and drowned, by order of King Wenceslaus, because he refused to betray the secrets confided to him by his queen in the holy rite of confession. The spot whence he was cast into the river is now marked by a cross with five



stars on the parapet, in imitation of the miraculous flames which flickered over the spot where the body lay under the water, and which continued unextinguished until the river was dragged and the body recovered. The honour of being enrolled in the calendar was deferred for several centuries after his death, and it was not till the year 1729 that he was received among the saints, and his remains encased in a massive silver shrine, placed in the cathedral. From the circumstance of his death, this saint has become the patron of bridges in most Catholic countries.

It cannot be supposed that these and many other similar acts are the result of mere ignorance, for they could be suppressed in a moment by the priesthood, whom it is hardly possible to conceive can attach the slightest credence to traditions and observances so totally irreconcilable with scripture; but their conduct, and the examples of the highest in the land, compel us to acknowledge that they also are not a whit behind in their superstitious beliefs. The *Zwanziger*, a coin of Hungary, issued by the present emperor in 1846, bears on its reverse the image of the Virgin Mary, with the superscription, *S. Maria, Mater Dei, Patrona Hung.* If we take the famous *Wallfahrt nach Maria Zell* in Styria, a pilgrimage made, as it is supposed, by 400,000 people of all ranks annually, we must at once admit that

idolatry and profanation are at their zenith in the land. It is estimated that at least 100,000 people from Vienna and its neighbourhood, the majority of them females, with staff in hand and knapsack on the back, perform the toilsome march—the distance being at least one hundred miles. The object of the expedition is thus described in one of the formulæ of prayers issued for the occasion:—

“It is an ancient and pious custom that we should visit every place of Grace, which has been especially pointed out by the Lord in his fatherly goodness. The pious pilgrims betake themselves to Maria Zell to pour out their thanks before the throne of the Mother of God for the benefits of heaven received; and to pray Mary, the holy virgin, for her further intercessions for future support, for health, and for further blessings on their families. They travel there to pray for the welfare of their country, for the fruitfulness of the earth, and that all evil and mischief may be turned aside: to implore the intercession of the Mother of God for the protection of their most gracious sovereign and his family. All good Christians, who have any particular sorrows of heart, proceed there to recommend themselves and their concerns to the mediation of the Holy Virgin; and finally, all seek to assemble there who, as worshippers of Mary, desire to pay their public homage in that spot, which the Lord, during a succession of centuries, has distinguished by his special grace.”

The legend which has given rise to this remarkable ceremony runs thus:—In the year 1137, Otto, abbot of the convent of St. Lambert, determined, by the sanction of Pope Adrian IV., to send several of his brethren into the neighbouring vallies to attend to the spiritual wants of the inhabitants. His choice fell, among others, on a priest, whose name has been lost in the lapse of time, but who was remarkable for his devotion to the Virgin, and who had in his cell a carved resemblance of her; which is, in fact, the same now set up in honour of her at Maria Zell. For a long course of years he had made his devotions before it, while lifting up his soul in prayer to his Maker, and no day elapsed in which he did not present there the offering of his thanks, his trust, and his love. Habit at length so endeared this figure to him, that he looked upon it as a treasure, and felt, as he worshipped his Creator before it, as if the Virgin participated in his feelings.

On receiving his commission from the abbot to visit a distant village for the instruction of the ignorant peasantry, he begged to be permitted to take his beloved figure with him. On arriving at his destination, he selected for his residence the spot where the church now stands, and built a little cell with an altar, upon which he placed the figure of the Virgin; which still, to this day, after more than six hundred years, is worshipped



der  
Mutter Gottes  
Maria-Zell  
in Steiermark.



by all believers on the same spot, under the well-known title of Maria Zell. The description states it to be carved out of the wood of the lime-tree, in a sitting attitude, bearing the Holy Jesus on her right arm ; it is not even worm-eaten, but its original colour has become considerably obscured.

He then began zealously to discharge the duties of his office, to instruct the illiterate peasantry in the Christian faith, and to make them acquainted with the means of salvation, and with the compassionate love of the heavenly Mother. By degrees they sought his cell for advice and consolation ; the devotion to the sacred figure spread among his followers, and the place itself gained a reputation for sanctity. Its celebrity was greatly increased in the year 1220, when the markgraf of Moravia, Henry, the son of Theobold, and his wife, who was either named Agnes or Kunigunda, and was the daughter of Henry, Duke of Austria, determined on visiting Maria Zell to return thanks to God for their recovery from a dangerous illness. They set out on their journey accompanied by a numerous suite, but a furious storm separated them from their attendants on the borders of Styria, and involved them in the intricacies of the then vast and pathless forests ; when, as if directed by the hand of a guardian spirit, they struck upon a road which led them straight to the point of their destination,

and restored them to their anxious followers.\* On the eve of their return they directed that a building of stone should be erected at their own expense, for the reception of the figure of the Holy Virgin, in place of the little wooden chapel which had hitherto been her shrine.

The fame of the place was spread by this occurrence into distant parts, and many pilgrims were consequently induced to visit it to pay their homage to the Virgin. Their numbers increased further on Louis the First, King of Hungary and Poland, making a public profession of his thanks for the mercies he had received from her. It appears that he was engaged in a war with the Turks, and finding himself far outnumbered by their host, he judged it most advisable to retreat rather than to risk an encounter. While engaged in his tent praying to God for assistance, he suddenly fell into a deep sleep, when the Holy Virgin appeared to him, and inspiring him with comfort and courage, urged him to bring his enemy to an engagement, notwithstanding the alarming superiority of the infidel hosts. When he awoke from sleep he found with astonishment that the figure of the Virgin, which he always kept near him, and which is now to be seen in the treasury at Maria Zell, was lying on his breast in the manner indicated in the dream. The narration of this

\* This legend is actually engraved on a tablet over the main entrance to the church.

vision soon spreading through the camp so inspirited the army, that the king led it at once against the enemy, who after a short contest suffered a complete overthrow, and sought safety in flight. Upon this (1364), King Louis proceeded in triumph to Maria Zell, and building over the little stone chapel a large church of which the great tower exists to the present day, he hung up therein, as an offering, his sword and spurs, a crown, an amulet composed of precious stones, the costly garments of himself and his wife, and deposited the figure which he had found lying on his breast.

When the Turks, at the first siege of Vienna in 1529, penetrated into the district, the little town of Maria Zell was burnt by them; but notwithstanding their utmost exertions the church repelled the flames, and was, together with its sacred figure, preserved intact. At the second siege in 1623, the image was transported to St. Lambert's for safety, and when the Turks evacuated the country it was again restored to its proper sanctuary.

From henceforward the devotion to this effigy of the Virgin became universal, receiving the support of emperors and kings, and enriched by gifts from many of the popes. The princely offerings of the house of Austria are alone numberless, and instigate the donations of the still zealous pilgrims.

It is difficult to reconcile such a state of superstition with the comparative ignorance of former ages, but to find such childish legends and monstrous absurdities entertained in the present day, and openly encouraged and participated in by the reigning family of Austria, exceeds all sober belief. It is not denied that in the passage of so vast a multitude through a country where sufficient accommodation is not to be found, and where crowds bivouac in the woods, many acts of immorality occur, and that even the occasion of the pilgrimage is sought for the opportunities afforded; but it is equally certain that many are actuated by pure zeal and pious intentions. Let us, however, examine into the nature of their addresses and prayers, of which the following is a specimen: — “Most gracious Mother of the heavenly Son! spotless Virgin! most blessed among women! Full of confidence in thy motherly tenderness, we raise the voice of our hearts to thee from this valley of tears. Bound by our sins, driven onward by our lusts and passions, oppressed by our necessities, assured of our mortality, but ignorant of our departure hence, we pray to thee for thy intercession with thy Son Jesus Christ, our Redeemer. He is the best of sons, and it is known to us how good sons honour their mothers. He has adorned thee with the crown of holiness, and has heaped on thee the blessings of heaven to increase our joy; how can

he then reject thy intercessions? Oh! lay before him the urgent supplications of thy believers! Beseech him to possess us with a thorough knowledge and abhorrence of all our trespasses against his holy laws, and an unchangeable resolution to fulfil implicitly all our Christian duties! Entreat for us strength from above, that we may subdue the evil passions and sinful lusts which drag so many of our fellow-creatures step by step into the abyss of destruction! Pray that we may enjoy such a state of bodily health as may enable us to perform our worldly duties, and that the blessings of heaven may rest upon our goods, upon our trades, our business, and all our worldly affairs. We earnestly recommend to thy intercession our beloved sovereign, that the blessing of the Almighty may be upon him, to lighten his burthen, to direct his councils, to give peace in his days, and to honour him in the eyes of angels and of men. We implore thy intercessions for our country, that it may be saved from those scourges which have been prepared by divine justice for sinful nations. Lastly we commend ourselves to thy motherly intercessions in the great and final hour, that on our transition from this life we may be cleansed from all sin, and appear before the judgment seat of thy Son, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost reigns in one Godhead, world without end, Amen."

. The above is one of the prayers used by the

pilgrims, and taken at random out of the ritual laid down for them; but there is a litany called the *Lauretanian*, which is probably unequalled for its extraordinary epithets. The book contains also a peculiar string of ejaculations, called *Liebesseufzer zu Maria, der allerseligsten Jungfrau*, with a note appended, to the effect that "His Holiness Pope Pius VII. has granted 100 days' absolution for each of them as often as they are repeated, and that they are equally efficacious for the souls of the dead."

But there are anomalies in the observances of the Romish church in Austria which cannot be explained: thus we see, for instance, that ten days of toil and deprivation are endured in this pilgrimage to worship before a shapeless effigy, while the most sacred anniversary of the Christian church is utterly disregarded and neglected. Good Friday is neither observed as a day of fasting nor of solemnity; the shops are kept open, and the business of life proceeds as on other days; but on Easter-eve the church addresses itself to the senses of the people by a grand ceremony and procession—the resurrection is dramatised, in a manner somewhat similar to that of the Greek church; that is, the priests preambulate round the exterior of the cathedral with banners and torches, and dressed in the robes peculiar to the season of Lent, to seek for the body of the Saviour; and then returning to the church they remove the painted

effigy of his dead body, which had been placed before the altar, and proclaim him to have risen. Crowds, both within and without the building, assemble to witness the ceremony; and a strong body of military, horse as well as foot — which cannot be dispensed with even on such an occasion, — surrounds the precincts. Neither time, place, nor circumstance make a distinction in the attendance of troops; for, be the subject what it may which causes a collection of people, the arm of the government is stretched forth as if in anticipation of confusion, and to preserve order by intimidation. In this case, as on light occasions, the public certainly assemble from curiosity, without the slightest tendency to devotion, and even treat the subject with levity. “Where were you yesterday evening?” was the question put to a lady, “that I did not see you at the Baroness’s *soirée*?” “Oh! I was at the resurrection,” was her short and irreverential reply. And thus are subjects treated, which, intended as holy in their effect, become mere worldly observances, from the familiarity with which they are mixed in the transactions of every-day life. In opposition to this neglect in the observance of so sacred a day, there are not a few saints’ days which are kept most closely; that is, the shops are all shut, and business is entirely suspended, — not that the people observe them in any other way than as a holiday: and so frequent are they,

and so devoted to idleness and pleasure, that the loss, as regards the economy of the country from the cessation of all industrial pursuits, is estimated at not less than 60,000,000 of florins yearly.

The ceremony of washing the feet of the poor in the week before Easter is so well got up, and so opposite in its character to the great and heart-thrilling event it is intended to represent, that even were it enjoined as an observance to be followed, its performance is little less than a burlesque put on the stage with an eye to popular effect. The emperor and empress both take a part in it; the one doing the duty to twelve old men, and the other to as many old women, who are selected for their age, and are dressed and cleaned up for the occasion. The imperial chapel is crowded with visitors to witness the humiliating spectacle (for it cannot be one of true humiliation with such concomitants), and then the same imperial hands wait upon the aged party at a supper which is prepared for them.

Besides certain fast-days (*Hof Norma Tage*) observed by the court, even to the closing of the Burg, or palace theatre, as anniversaries of the decease of members of the imperial family, there are other days (*Norma Tage*) on which it is required that all the theatres shall be closed, and that no public concerts nor balls shall be given: these are, Ash Wednesday, the Annunciation, Easter Week, Whit Sunday, *Frohnleich-*



*namtage* (corresponding to the Fête de Dieu in France), the Birthday of the Virgin Mary, the three last days of Advent, and Christmas Day. To this list may be added another, consisting of those days on which all balls and concerts, public as well as private, are forbidden, although the theatres are allowed to be open.

These regulations offer a strange contrast to the irreverential observance of the sabbath, against which there is not the slightest objection raised by the clergy ; nor does the idea of profanation exist in the minds of the people. In anticipation of the day, the walls of the city are placarded with announcements of concerts, to be presided over by the celebrated Strauss and his son, and of balls at the Odeon ; the choicest and most attractive pieces are given at the theatres ; the coffee-houses and billiard-tables are crowded ; and, in short, the whole city is on the *qui vive* for public amusements and private *soirées*. One of the most singular exhibitions in the capital on Sunday, is the procession of the emperor and his court to chapel. The palace, as regards the ante-rooms, is thrown open, and every respectably-dressed person is allowed admission, of which privilege crowds avail themselves. The chapel is attached to the palace, and the procession has merely to pass through these ante-rooms to reach it. Bodies of the three noble guards, the German, the Hungarian, and the Italian, in their respective costumes, line as many

rooms, and behind their ranks the public range themselves, catching, as they best can, a glimpse of the courtly train.

The day mentioned in the German calendar as the *Frohnleichnamtage*, meaning literally Christ's holy body, is dedicated to a great church ceremony. It takes place early in June, and the intention, as stated by the church, is to impress with greater force the observances and practical duties of religion; but the majesty of the ceremony, and the supremacy assumed by the clergy on the occasion, lead to the belief that its institution was founded to establish and maintain the power of the church, and to impose on the feelings of the people by the display of its pomp and dignity. That the policy of the Romish church has this intention, is too obvious to need a remark; and without venturing to impute to it an entirely worldly feeling, it must be acknowledged that instead of humility and simplicity of worship, we find gorgeous ceremonies and courtly processions arranged with an eye to effect. The ceremony of this day is exactly of that order, and the congregated thousands who are drawn together to witness it, see nothing but a stately pageant, and the assemblage of the dignitaries of the land in all the pride of sumptuous costumes and jewelled insignia.

In Vienna neither cost nor labour are spared to give splendour to the scene. The streets through which the procession is to pass are laid down

with platforms strewed with fresh cut grass; canopied altars, richly decorated, and ornamented with flowers and shrubs, are set in the most open spots, and troops under arms line the streets and close every thoroughfare. The clergy and officials of each church in the city in their gala robes, preceded by their respective banners and crosses, and the various orders of monks, pass in lengthened files; the élite of the troops with their bands succeed one another; the bishops and abbots with the croziers, and the archbishop, beneath a rich canopy, follow; and then the emperor, bare-headed, and carrying a taper, the empress in state robes with her train-bearers, are succeeded by the ladies of the court and the nobles, in the full costume of their respective countries; the noble German, Italian, and Hungarian guards bringing up the rear of the glittering throng. By each altar a splendid tent, provided with chairs of velvet and gold, is prepared for the use of the imperial family during the performance of the service; and thus, passing from one station to another, a large portion of the city is traversed. Every window is crowded, and every little elevation is taken advantage of by the populace, but the most rigid order and silence prevail under the vigilant eye of the strongly mustered force of the police. The remark generally made, that the emperor only plays the subordinate part in the ceremony, is undoubtedly true, for the clergy

assume the pre-eminence. The day is similarly observed throughout the land, though of course without the adjuncts, which the capital alone can afford; but all the resources of each little district are called into action, and even the passage of the village priest through his limited territory, is honoured by branches of trees stuck along the roadside.

At the ceremony of confirmation, the children to be confirmed are ranged in lines along the aisles of the cathedral, and are distinguished by a thin fillet of white ribbon bound round their heads, and by the girls being otherwise dressed in the most fantastical manner. The bishop, as he passes up and down the lines, utters a short prayer over each child, taps it on the cheek, and holds out his ring to be kissed.

The Roman Catholics, finding the ceremony, now known by the name of confirmation, to have been styled a sacrament by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, have therefore raised it to that rank, without being influenced by the fact that the ancient writers make frequent use of the word *sacrament* to express no more than a sacred ceremony or mystery; indeed, were all the ceremonies which the fathers and early Christian writers distinguished by that title numbered among the sacraments, the amount would far exceed that of the seven now established. In the time of the apostles, the whole of this ceremony consisted in

the imposition of hands ; “ *they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost ;* ” there is no trace nor mention made of *oil, chrism, unction, nor signing with oil on the forehead in the form of the cross*, nor of a *blow* given by the bishop on the cheek of the person being confirmed, though these latter, and the kissing the relic worn in the finger-ring of the bishop, are now all deemed, in the Church of Rome, essential parts of the ceremony.

The followers of the Roman Catholic faith bear a very great numerical preponderance in the population of the Empire, consisting of not less than  $24\frac{7}{10}$  millions. In some provinces and districts, namely, in the Lombardian and Venetian States, in Friaul, Istria, Carniola, the Tyrol, and Salzburg, they are almost the only inhabitants, as in them the Reformation has not made any, or at best but a nominal progress, and but few families of other creeds have ever settled there. Even in Bohemia, Moravia, Carynthia, Austria Proper, and Dalmatia, where there is a mixture of the Evangelical church, besides a numerous body of Jews in the two former, and in Dalmatia, where the members of the Oriental Church muster strong, the Roman Church still preponderates. Hungary, which contains several denominations of Christians, and Galicia, where Jews and the followers of the Greek Church form a most important portion of the community, must be considered as belonging also to the Roman

Church; if among the various professions, the majority belonging to any one of them may be permitted to claim the distinction. In Hungary, the Roman Catholics clearly predominate in not less than forty divisions (Comitaten), while the Protestants and Greeks are the most numerous in only six. It is only in Transylvania and the Military Frontiers that the majority of the inhabitants are Anti-Romanists: in the former there are only 287 Romish churches to 1076 Protestant and 2441 Greek churches.

## THE ARMY.

AUSTRIA is not a military nation, and there are many combining causes which render the profession of arms not only distasteful, but irksome. The service offers few temptations, its pay being insufficient, its discipline severe, its recruiting compulsory, and its detachment duty little less than banishment.

A standing army of 399,087 men as a peace establishment, with all its machinery, and the various establishments connected with it, forms a vast item in the mass of the population, and would naturally be supposed to have some influence on it; but the policy of the government is opposed to any such tendency, and seeks to denationalise the soldier: that is, to make him forget the country in the sovereign, by teaching him that he owes him fealty and service as an individual, and not as the head of the state. It is a part of the retrograde system, for the maintenance of which it aims at securing the fidelity of the soldier by identifying him with the person of the emperor. The soldier being thus the instrument of upholding the antiquated notions and restrictive policy of the government, is nowhere popular; and in order to strengthen this rampart, the

jealousies of the various provinces of the empire are kept alive by transferring the troops of one to the soil of another; the garrisons of Italy being filled with the soldiers of Austria, and those of Austria with the natives of Hungary, &c. The rivalry of the various kingdoms of the empire, and their want of cordiality with the parent state, which contain within themselves the elements of national weakness, are thus, by judicious handling, converted into an instrument of strength, and compel the reluctant union.

Under such a state of things, and without reference to the censorship of the press, it is not surprising that so little has been written on the subject of the Austrian army and its economy; and it is also doubtless true, that its exclusive position, and the arbitrary silence which is enjoined on all subjects, operate with equal weight; the one shutting out all the necessary information from him who has never served, and the other prohibiting the soldier from appearing as an author, even in polite literature.

A very considerable improvement has taken place in the Austrian army since the date of the great continental peace; so considerable, indeed, that it is now on a par with some, and superior to others of the European armies. In the days of Maria Theresa, it was requisite that "the ensign (Fahnrich) should be a lusty knave, able to carry his colour with spirit, and to beat the drum with



proper energy ;” and, as further laid down in his instructions, he was to carve at the table of his superior when invited there, and to make himself generally of service. The ensign of that date is as unlike his compeer of the present day, who bears the title of second lieutenant, as the Germania of Tacitus is to the Germany of the nineteenth century. In the same code of instructions it is stated that “the captain must be sober at least once in the year, and then on muster-day ;” and it bestowed the especial privileges on the adjutants of battalions and regiments, that they should only be beaten by their respective commanders, and then with a cane of moderate substance. But a corresponding progress has also taken place in the superior ranks, who have applied themselves to scientific pursuits, and have shown a strong disposition to cultivate both technical and metaphysical subjects ; and, although a proportionate advance has not followed in the lower ranks of the army, yet the private soldier has attained a certain degree of development and intellectuality. The bitter lessons which the Austrian army learnt in the school of the Napoleon wars, at so frightful a cost, have been of material service to it in every respect, an advantage which it could never have acquired in the long indolence of peace. The artillery, especially, has surpassed every other branch of the service, and has acquired a high character for its discipline and efficiency

The general efficiency of the army is indeed encouraged in every possible way, and the effect is at once to be perceived in its high state of discipline, and the excellence of its appointments. Its greatest general, the Archduke Charles, has passed away, and few names known to fame are now on its lists ; but there are good and competent men notwithstanding, who would do credit to their country, and who are soldiers from a love of their profession.

From the wide extent of its dominions, and the delicate position of some of its frontiers, Austria has often thought it advisable to make a demonstration in certain districts, by collecting in an encampment on its borders vast masses of troops, for the purpose of exercising them in manœuvres on a large scale.

The Italian and Polish borders have been chiefly chosen with this view ; but it is a question with the Austrian officers whether the benefit which may be gained by imposing on the disaffected by the appearance of a powerful and perfectly disciplined force, is not counterbalanced by a train of evils affecting the troops themselves. They say that the fiction of war, the manœuvring of troops in masses, and the familiarising the soldier in the field to the practical use of the exercises he has learned on the parade-ground, are not of sufficient importance to compensate for the demoralisation of the men, and the crowded

state of the hospitals, arising from the hardships to which the men are exposed. It is the bustle and worry of a gigantic parade without the excitement of war, of which difficulties and adventure form the charm. Individual complaints form also a considerable item in the category. The officers, who have no provision made for them, nor any means of transport furnished for their effects, are driven to great and inconvenient expenses, which, added to the increased cost of the articles of life consequent on the assemblage of a vast body of men, plunges them seriously into debt and difficulty. There is, besides, a moral evil of a most fatal character, which cannot be checked on these occasions, when ennui on the one hand, and the inducement afforded by the union of so many men on the other, excite a love of gambling. It is not a matter of rare occurrence for even officers of rank to participate in the play, and it is a well-known fact that an officer of the highest grade attached a notice on the door of a coffee-house, where play was going on, that no one could be admitted. On that occasion, 45,000 florins changed hands, and several officers of only moderate means were irretrievably ruined. Apart, also, from the illegality and disgrace of the play in which the superior officers indulge with their subalterns, it is not impossible that those very men, in the execution of a duty imposed upon them, may be

sent to institute inquiries, and to punish their own victims.

The common soldiers stationed at the extended and distant outposts, have irresistible temptations afforded them; and from the difficulty of being kept in a proper state of control, they yield to the abandonment, which makes dreadful ravages among them, and hundreds fall the victims of this farce of war in the hospitals. Good as the military hospitals mostly are, the men do not always receive humane treatment. Mr. Fenner says that he saw the sick in the military hospital at Verona repeatedly struck by the surgeons in attendance; and that a cadet in a cavalry regiment, the son of a man holding a high appointment in Brunswick, received a blow on the head in consequence of a reply he made to the surgeon. It was not allowed to pass unnoticed, and the man received a caution, which, however, did not check his brutality. This surgeon was carried away with a singular antipathy. It appeared that in his youth he had been murderously attacked in his own room, in consequence of some past dispute, by a Count Montmorency, an officer of a rifle regiment, and received some severe sabre cuts, for which the count was condemned to the Bagnio at Venice, and from that time Dr. Taubes entertained the most violent antipathy against every rifle soldier. As chief of the Garrison hospital at Verona in 1843, he gave full vent

to this feeling, bullying the unfortunate rifleman who chanced to pass through his hands with all the spite of concentrated hatred, and the more vindictively so, if he happened to belong to the, by him accursed, Italian race, greeting him, on his admission, with "*adesso andiamo alla tomba.*" These unhappy wretches were tortured besides with the low-diet system, of which he was a strong advocate; and it is beyond all doubt that many patients, who had reached a state of convalescence, and required only nourishing food, suffered fatal relapses from sheer exhaustion and debility.

But to see the full effect of the summer months' manœuvres on the troops, we will take one battalion as an example. The fourth battalion of the imperial rifles was stationed during the summer of 1842 at Ferrara, and the men were employed, against their inclinations, on the fortifications. After toiling the whole week through, from four o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, with only two hours and a half interval during the day, the major commandant turned them out to drill on the Sunday morning from four till nine o'clock, allowing them thus no portion of repose, as the afternoon was occupied in cleaning their accoutrements. When ordered to march into cantonments at Peschiera, each company, 180 strong, left on an average from fifty to sixty men in the hospital at Ferrara, and on

every third day a number of sick were brought in from the detachment service, and transported to Verona in baggage waggons, without the least regard to the condition of the men, who were literally packed together. Thus, in a very short time, and before the manœuvres were half completed, this battalion was reduced to one-third of its strength. This is no exaggerated statement, and is a fair sample of the condition of the rest of the army; and at no period are the hospitals fuller, or the mortality greater, than at the time of these manœuvres.

There are two military colleges in Austria, namely, the so-called military academy at Wiener Neustadt, and that of the Engineers, in Vienna: there are, besides, the three cadet-schools at Olmütz, Grätz, and Milan, a naval college at Venice, a pioneer-school at Tulln, and a mining-school at Hainburg. Elementary schools are attached to almost every regiment, where the children of the men are educated from their sixth year, and until they attain an age to permit them to enter into the ranks. The Wiener Neustadt academy was founded by Maria Theresa, for the education of the children of poor subalterns; but its object has been abused, and it is principally filled with the sons of high staff and general officers. In this, as well as in the other military institutions, the children of the military preponderate to that extent, that those of the laity, and even of the

nobles, can seldom obtain admission ; and, in consequence of this almost exclusive system, the army has become a kind of caste, which perpetuates as a heritage all its prejudices and pretensions. The two former of these academies qualify about 100 pupils yearly as officers ; but of them, not more than ten ever continue a course of study to enable them to attain the higher branches of their profession, while the remainder are content to pass through the respective ranks of the service as fortune or interest may enable them.

The common soldier of Austria stands in the same relation to his officer as the Helot did to the Spartan in olden time. However harsh the remark, it is an undoubted truth ; for if the material Helotism be wanting, the moral one stands openly confessed. It is Helotism of the most frightful character, which prevents the free agency of an individual, and prevents him from ever having a knowledge of freedom, and from daring to attain even a perception of his rights. From the moment the man strips off his peasant's coat and mounts the uniform, his moral freedom is at an end, and he must divest himself of all pretensions to those rights which belonged to him as a citizen and a man ; for it is a fact, that the common soldier has no rights. However he may be ill-used and loaded with injuries, his complaint is never answered with a promise of justice, and he never receives

the satisfaction of being told that his oppressor shall be brought to an account, for the sufficient reason that it would be a breach of decorum. The line of demarcation drawn between the officer and the soldier admits of no approach even in the cadet or non-commissioned officer—it is arbitrary and impassable. He belongs to a peculiar caste, and the slightest contact with his inferiors, even in matters unconnected with duty, is carefully avoided; and with him emanates the right of punishment.

The number of officers who have risen from the ranks is extremely limited, and as they may have served perhaps twenty years before that event takes place, their position, on entering regiments as the junior lieutenants at the age of forty, is little promising, and as it is besides impossible for them to adapt themselves to the manners of their brother officers, or to acquire the polish of society, they apply for a retiring pension, or for an exchange into a garrison battalion.

The subaltern, who enters the army at eighteen, generally obtains his company after twenty years' service, but nobles by birth and civilians of wealth make more rapid strides, the interest of the *Inhaber* of the regiment being sufficient to push them forward in their career. The *Inhaber* is literally the patron of his regiment, which in many instances bears his name; but if he be a foreigner or a sovereign prince, it is only an



honorary distinction, and the patronage and benefits fall to the next in rank. Thus, the Duke of Wellington is the *Inhaber* of the 42nd regiment of Infantry, besides being a field-marshal in the service; and the kings of Sardinia and Würtemberg are *Inhabers* of the 5th and 6th regiments of Hussars. Each regiment has six, so called, imperial cadets attached to it; but the *Inhaber* can enrol as many more as he pleases, and causes their promotion. These young men hold a singularly anomalous position; for, ranking with and receiving the pay of the privates, they are addressed by them as superiors, while by the officers they are kept at a distance as subordinates, receiving just respect enough to hold the rank of gentlemen. They are supposed to succeed to vacancies by rotation, but influence perpetually disappoints them, and passes juniors over their heads; and from such causes, a cadet, after having attained to the rank of a corporal, for they are never made sergeants, may linger on for several years before he gets his commission. He has, of course, to maintain himself respectably during that period, and to find his own uniforms, which are only distinguished from the privates' by their quality. His outfit, or *montur*, as it is termed, may cost him 12*l*. in the infantry, and twice that amount in the cavalry, and his pay being only twopence a day, with the allowance of a ration of bread, he cannot calculate on less than from 30*l*. to 50*l*. a year for his ex-

penses, according to the district in which he is quartered, and whether on detachment or not. There are many English in the army, who have entered in this manner, and risen to rank.

The Austrian government admits virtually the insufficiency of the pay of the officers, by its mode of dealing with them on the subject of marriage, which is allowed only under certain regulations and restrictions. The policy of preventing improvident marriages may be undeniably good, but the inquisitorial proceedings and interference which are instituted, are not only repugnant to the feelings, but derogatory to the character of a people. In this, Austria exceeds all other nations: as an arbitrary state she watches every pulse of the political body, and as a paternal one she searches every feeling of the human heart, never relaxing from her rigour, even when the dearest interests of her subjects are concerned. With reference to marriage, she rests the defence of her policy on the declaration that her motives are unimpugnable, and that she studies the welfare of her subjects in exercising a domestic surveillance. But it may be said that if she does prevent the cause of much future misery in some cases, the rule must have exceptions, and that she blights many a fair prospect of future happiness, and implants immorality, with its fearful train of social evils. She leaves the tree to grow up profitless and bare, without a root to attach it to the soil, when, by cultivation,

it would shed joy and blessing around it. She might remedy every evil by awarding a sufficient pay to her soldiers, instead of allowing them to waste their lives in a struggle against poverty, and of making them a mere isolated race. Cheap in comparison as the necessities of life are in Austria, the man who is dependent on his pay must be an admirable economist to subsist. A first lieutenant at 35 florins (3*l.* 8*s.*), and a senior captain at 75 (7*l.* 10*s.*), a month, are in a wretched case.

An officer wishing to be married must lodge a deposit of 6000 florins (600*l.*), according to the regulations; but, imperative as they are, they are easily and often broken through in the spirit, though substantially conformed to in the letter. As the state guarantees an interest of 5 per cent. on the deposit, it is no uncommon thing for the friends or relations of the parties to invest their money in this security, using, of course, the names of those parties, but holding the coupons, and drawing the interest themselves; and as such deposit-money is free from all charge and lien upon it, the virtual owner possesses a property secure from all contingencies and loss. But even if the intentions of the government are not thus evaded, the question naturally presents itself whether the insignificant sum of 30*l.* a year, received as the interest, can add materially to the independence of a family.

The officers are not generally popular with their men, and seem to be entirely incapable of adapting themselves to their intelligence by laying aside a little of the sternness of manner which they believe necessary to command respect and consideration. They are unavoidably in perpetual connection with them, superintending and directing their exercises, and the regulations of the service, and, in fact, mixing with them officially for many hours in the day; but they give themselves no trouble to study the characters of the men, nor to point out their duties in their own plain language, for in reading to them any paragraph of the regulations of the service, they deliver it in German as it is written, of which one half of the men are totally ignorant, although from fear they signify their comprehension of it. The reason of this is that the army musters in its ranks numbers of Bohemians, Hungarians, and Sclavonians, who understand no language but their own, excepting the words of command, which they have gained mechanically. There are, of course, noble exceptions to this system, and there nothing can exceed the devotion of the men; but when brutality and violence are in the ascendant, the man is lost sight of in the soldier, and he is treated as if he were incapable of appreciating kindness, or dead to every feeling of self-respect and honour. The power of the officer is to a certain extent arbitrary,—he can of his own authority cause

corporal punishment to be inflicted, and can confine a man in chains in the guard-house for a period of hours, without any trial or enquiry.

It is not at all surprising that the mind should sometimes rebel against systematic oppression, and that a man, injured in feelings, and reckless from tyranny, should break out into open defiance and mutiny. It is of seldom occurrence, from the severity of the penalties, but still deliberate murder has been committed out of a pure spirit of revenge. It is now some time since, but in the short space of three months two sergeants and a corporal were shot dead by their men. An eye-witness says that he saw the flash of the shot which destroyed a corporal of the Hessen-Homburg regiment in the Alster barracks. It was done in cold blood and at noon-day, by a soldier, who attributed to the man the report which had caused him to be placed unjustly in strong arrest. Doubtless this was the exciting cause for exacting so fearful a revenge; but what a series of annoyances, what a load of indignities and oppressions, had probably been heaped on that man to drive him to so fatal an extremity! This act was not without its consequences, and had its effect both among the superiors and the subordinates; for the latter, participating in the spirit of their comrade, gave many proofs of insubordination, and threatened their superiors with murder so openly, that no order of the day could have been more explicit. These

threats were of course put down with a strong hand, but at the peril of insubordination, for, instead of remedying the system of oppression, seventy strokes with a cane were awarded to every man who had brought himself within the penalty.

When Sir Peter Laurie declared that he would put down suicide, he must have studied in the Austrian school, which, instead of calming the delirium of the mind, driven in the agonies of suffering and despair to the utmost extremities, and to the forgetfulness of its responsibilities by tyranny, deliberately inflicts a flogging of twenty-five lashes for the attempt, refining, on the principles of the Homœopathic system, by lacerating the body for the wounds of the soul.

Of late years many cases of suicide have occurred among the officers, arising from gambling, debts, and other dishonourable practices: but the crime seems to depend a great deal on national character, for while it occurs oftenest in the Austrian and Slavonian regiments, those of Hungary and Italy are almost innocent of it, and of these four races the Austrian army is chiefly composed.

With respect to the individual characters of these nations in a military point of view, there is a marked dissimilarity. The German soldier is of a heavy and dull temperament, and serves, particularly for the first year, with great unwillingness; but although chiefly of the peasant race, the miserable existence he drags through on the pay

of five kreutzers (2*d.*) a day, does not cause him much concern. In saying that he is heavy and dull, it is principally with reference to the mechanical part of his discipline, for as regards his intellectual development, he shows a desire for instruction, and is not slow in comprehension; and after having passed the first tedious year of his period of service\*, a love for it involuntary grows upon him, that is, if his regiment remains in the German provinces. In the other states of the empire, where he hears another language, he is soon dissatisfied, and particularly in Italy, to whose climate and customs he cannot reconcile himself; and besides, he knows himself to be the object of the greatest contempt and of the fiercest hatred on the part of the Italians, who, impatient of the Austrian yoke, and agitated with restless dreams of nationality, dislike even their own countrymen who are soldiers, and who are indebted for the toleration afforded them to the known fact that their service is compulsory. The Italians ridicule the Austrian soldiers, with the epithet of "*carne dell' imperatore*," a term of the most sarcastic and biting import, as signifying the slavery of their class to the interests and personal aggrandizement of one arbitrary head.

The Austrian soldier does not attach much importance to his appearance, which has a melan-

\* Recently reduced from fourteen to eight years.

choly and lenten cast; his bearing is stiff and graceless, and a surly, repulsive expression glances in his eye; but he rarely forgets the self-possession and courtesy which are the characteristics of his nation. Among the many nations which the Austrian army numbers in its ranks, he is perhaps the least devoted to the Imperial House; but his fidelity is beyond all question. In his former capacity of peasant, he only knew his feudal subjection to his lord, or to the local authorities; and in his military character he does no more than transfer an unwilling and passive obedience to his commanding officers. Although the dependence and attachment he ought to feel towards the Imperial House are perpetually forced upon his mind, yet he cannot reconcile to himself that these should be required of him towards a man of whom he knows nothing, and who has been the cause of his being banished from his home for a hard and wearisome period of eight years, compared to which his peasant's life was a paradise.

In all absolute states, the feelings of patriotism and of reliance on the monarch are extremely limited; and if an Austrian soldier were asked what his ideas were respecting them, he would either answer in some conventional stereotyped phrase, from excess of caution, or be silent altogether. He will, however, be found a steady supporter of the authorities, from the absolute



want of self-enquiry, and from the impression he has received of the iron necessity of yielding unqualified obedience, to which he resigns himself as readily on the parade-ground as in the field itself. Much force is always laid on the inborn spirit of patriotism in nations, but the idea is a vain illusion as regards an enslaved people, and an army, which is never called into action to fight *pro aris et focis*, but to stand forth at the command of an irresistible and uncontrolled prince. Soldiers, in such a case, who, exposed to the fire of the enemy in their front, and impelled by the fear of the articles of war and the provost-martial in their rear, perform prodigies of valour, and face death and destruction with unshrinking firmness, are influenced by no patriotic enthusiasm, but by the mechanical spirit of defence and self-preservation, which is in fact mere animal courage. An enslaved people has no patriotism.

The Slavonian race forms another considerable part of the Austrian army. Its soldier is a man of middle stature, of strong and powerful frame, and of a stubborn, intractable, and faithless character; which peculiarities of temper exhibit themselves to an increased extent under the pressure of the hated German yoke. Attached to one another by the strongest ties of country and of disposition, they separate themselves from all anti-national communication, and, in the regiments composed of Moravians and Bohemians, their antipathy

to all who differ from them in language exhibits itself in scuffles and in bloodshed.

The disciplining of a Slavonian recruit is a difficult task, arising, in some degree, from the circumstance, that the greatest proportion of the officers in the Slavonian regiments are of German extraction, speaking only their own language, and being therefore unintelligible to their men, are compelled to employ an interpreter. The man looks with contempt on his officer, who is unable in this first step to be his guide and instructor, and, although he has the character of being dull of comprehension, yet he never forgets what he has once learnt, and proves himself, after the lapse of years, to be a more ready soldier than the German. The Slave loves the Austrian rule as little as the Hungarian and the Italian, and, consequently, he has no attachment to his German officer, who often makes him suffer for his national dislikes, by favouring the Germans who may happen to be in the corps, and by making partial distinctions. This preference naturally increases the ill-will of the Slave, and hence the return of punishments in the Slavonian, Hungarian, and Italian regiments is much greater than in others. The Slave, who possesses a far superior national spirit to the German, goes with manifest reluctance and displeasure to other countries, where, as in Italy, his language is hardly known by

name, and where the climate and manners and customs present the most complete contrast to his own. His national spirit is not slow in showing itself, as was proved by the last efforts of the Poles in 1840 and 1846. The curtain has been sedulously drawn over the events of 1840, which served as a prelude to those of 1846; for, by the management of the public press, it was attempted to be proved that but few officers had been engaged in exciting the spirit of rebellion, and that they, being disappointed men in their professions, had sought their own ambitious views; but it is well known that the reverse was the case, and that a burning spirit of patriotism roused them to risk every danger.

It has been part of the policy of Austria to characterise this rising as the work of a few ambitious men, and to give it the appearance of a slight and unimportant event; but what revolution has ever occurred without opening the door to ambition! However the government may have urged the adoption of this version of the affair, it may fairly be asked what ambition impelled the soldier, a mere peasant, to join in so dangerous a plot? What could he, without education and acquirements, and possessing only his brute strength, expect from a successful result? What personal advantages could he derive? He could form no visions of advancement, of places of honour, of increased pay, or of milder discipline.

For the first he possessed no moral qualifications, and for the last he had not the slightest foundation to depend upon. The spirit of his country burst forth in him; the knowledge, that millions of Slaves, exceeding the number of the Germans in a threefold degree, and were yet subject to them, animated him; and the inextinguishable hatred against the German powers, which has slumbered, without decreasing in virulence, since the days of King Ottokar, determined him.

The kingdom of Hungary supports its army from means totally independent of the empire, which, however, possesses an uncontrolled power over it. The majority of the Hungarian regiments is composed of Slavonians and Germans, for as Hungary only reckons two millions and a half of Magyars in its population, it naturally follows that the number of Hungarians in the service is very limited. The Hungarians, from the lowest sentinel to the decorated chief, plumes himself on his descent (a vast number of the Hungarian soldiers are noble), his noble blood, and his hatred to the Germans. He is tall, of powerful build, and well-shaped, and looks to advantage in the tight blue pantaloons of his regimental dress. He, like the Slavonian, is extraordinarily opinionated and stubborn, particularly towards his officers, and is often guilty of acts of insubordination. The infliction of corporal punishment is more frequent in the Hungarian

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regiments than in all others, though with little moral effect. The men have been seen to receive seventy, eighty, and as many as one hundred cuts with a cane, without uttering a sound of complaint or of pain, and even, as is abundantly the case, without begging for mercy, and on the termination of the punishment to take the bench on which they had been stretched to its place, to thank the officer who presided at the punishment for it, and all without exhibiting the least sign of pain or sorrow, although such a brutal punishment, inflicted by the hands of two powerful men, has rendered many a man a cripple for life. Indeed, flogging is an affair of almost daily occurrence in the Hungarian regiments, and it is even said that the man who has not been flogged is not held in any consideration by his comrades. It must be borne in mind, that the Hungarian is accustomed to the lash from his youth up, receiving it for the most trifling circumstance, either from his lord, the comitat's officer, or the Pandur of his village.

From the system of recruiting in Hungary, the complement of its regiments is not often effective; Slaves, Germans and Hungarians are indiscriminately mixed; but the true Magyar is distinguishable at a glance. In the regiments themselves, the different national feelings blend tolerably well together, and there is more union than would be imagined; but the quarrels with

the pure German regiments are not unfrequent, and often have bloody results. In the years 1838 and 1839 these conflicts were of such constant occurrence in Vienna, that the commandants of the different regiments in the garrison allotted different districts to the men during their hours of recreation, which were on no account to be broken through.

An attempt has been often and fruitlessly made, and will be as often renewed, to claim the privilege, that all regiments raised and paid by Hungary shall be commanded by officers of its own, and speaking its own language, which is now far from being the case. It is certain that in the Hungarian regiments, particularly in those of the cavalry, hardly a tenth of the officers are natives of the country, and in the Hussar regiments a great many Englishmen have taken service. The Austrian government has a policy in this arrangement, and would be able to place less dependence on the men were it dispensed with. The admission of foreigners into the army at all is looked at with great jealousy by the officers, who are aware that none but men possessing great influence ever enrol themselves; for, where promotion is the consequence of nepotism or of diplomatic solicitation, a cadet will pass through his initiatory ordeal with ease in as many months as it has taken them years to rise a step, and by frequently changing his regiment,

with an advanced rank each time, he leaps over the difficulties which are insurmountable to others. There are regiments where men from almost all the nations of Europe may be found, and one has been pointed out which had on its list of officers at the same time men from England, France, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, the Papal States, and from almost every limb of the German confederation. It seems to be a singular act of sufferance on the part of the Austrian government, but it is in fact a part of its deep-laid policy to denationalise the army, by placing men who can have no national opinions nor prejudices in commands.

The Italian regiments have even fewer of their own native officers among them than the Hungarian ones. The Italian gentleman cannot readily lend himself to serve a German master, and the few individuals who hold commissions do not rank high in the esteem of their countrymen. A dislike to the German dominion, as well as to the Germans generally, setting apart all feelings of nationality, is a striking trait in the Italian character; and indeed it can hardly be wondered at, when the evils perpetrated in Italy by the Germans from the oldest times to the present day, are taken into account. The Austrian soldier is as much detested in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as the Swiss are in the Papal States. The Italian soldier, to whose lot it

has fallen to serve in the German school, and to pass his eight years of service far from his native plains (for most of the Italian regiments are stationed in Bohemia), shows a peculiar disposition. Suspicious of and inveterate against his German superiors, who do not understand his language, he leans with partiality towards those who are conversant with it, and treats them with kindness: but he evinces a marked dislike to the officers of his own nation, who, with a view to gain a title to impartiality, act with greater severity towards their own countrymen than to foreigners. ✓

The Italian soldier is, without exception, expert and quick, requiring infinitely less time to train than the recruits of other countries; and he has, besides, a remarkable facility in acquiring the language of the people among whom he may be thrown. The offences of which he is the most guilty are scuffles and acts of insubordination committed in moments of choler.

Desertion from the army has of late years been of much rarer occurrence than formerly, although the severity of the punishment awarded for the offence has been considerably mitigated. It exists mostly in the Italian and Hungarian regiments, which, after having been stationed for ten or twelve years in the same garrison, where, from the length of time, they have become in a measure domesticated, are ordered off to



fresh quarters. Göllner's regiment of infantry, for instance, which lay for several years at Bregentz, and was ordered to Agram on the evacuation of the Vorarlberg, lost six or seven men on every day's march; and even when the regiment reached the Military frontiers, many men succeeded in getting off, and returning to the Vorarlberg. In the neighbouring Swiss canton of St. Gallen, and at Altstetten, more than eighty Austrian deserters from the regiment were known to have found asylums.

Duelling is of rare occurrence, and is severely punished, not only for the crime itself, but for the breach of discipline it gives rise to; but cases occur where public opinion condemns the man who shelters himself behind his rank, or the regulations of the service, to avoid a meeting. A subaltern having received a rebuke from his first lieutenant in sharp and insulting words, acknowledged its justice, but complained of the manner in which it had been conveyed, and demanded retraction. For this he was placed by his senior in arrest, which he submitted to, making a remonstrance in writing to the commandant of his battalion, and going privately, after his release, to his opponent, challenged him. The lieutenant placed him again in arrest, reported him, and instituted a court-martial against him. The officer was broke, and sentenced to several years' imprisonment in a garrison fortress.

This occurred during the reign of the late Emperor Francis, to whom the friends of the prisoner addressed a petition for pardon, and who replied to them, "that the first lieutenant did his duty in denouncing the subaltern, but that he was nevertheless a pitiful rascal." He, however, put the former on the retired list, and restored the subaltern to his rank. It is not to be argued from this case that the authorities countenance duelling, against which the strongest laws have been published, but rather that a degree of justice is shown under cases of strong provocation, when they are compelled to take notice of the affair. An Austrian officer who refuses a challenge, is compelled by his brother officers of all ranks to throw up his commission, or he is avoided like a Paria, and treated with contempt by his superiors.

The army regulations (*Dienst Reglement*) consist of two moderately-sized quarto volumes, and enter into the most minute details, both with respect to the personal conduct of the soldier, and his military duties, of which the preamble or introductory address is a sufficient proof. It says:—

"The following regulations embrace the duties to be observed by all ranks in the imperial royal service, the articles of war, the rules of discipline, the economical statutes, the regulations of command, the conduct in times of war and peace, in the field and in the garrison, and form the laws

for the guidance of the soldier, and designate the duties and powers of every rank in the service. The General Officers in command, the Lieutenant Field Marshals and Brigadiers, and the Commanders of regiments are hereby required, and for which they will be held responsible, to see that these regulations are duly communicated to the whole of the men under their respective commands, in their true spirit and meaning, and that they are attentively read and studied by the officers of the respective regiments, and are observed and obeyed to their fullest extent as normal statutes.

“ ARCHDUKE CARL, Generalissimo.”

The oath is contained in the following decree :

“ Our troops shall take the following oath of allegiance to us, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, Lódomania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Archduke of Austria, &c. We solemnly swear before Almighty God, that we will be obedient and true to our most gracious Prince and Sovereign, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, Lodomania, Croatia, Slavonia, Archduke of Austria, to the General Officers in command over us, and to all others our superior officers; that we will honour and protect them; that we will obey their orders and commands in all things; that we will fight manfully and

bravely against all enemies whatsoever, and wherever our Sovereign may direct, whether by water or by land, by day or night, in battle, in storming; and in engagements, and attacks of every kind; that we will never desert our troops nor our colours; that we will hold no intercourse with the enemy; that we will obey the laws of war; and that we will behave ourselves as good soldiers, so as to live and die with honour. So help us God. Amen."

Among the forty articles of war\* which form the code of laws for the government of the Imperial army, it is remarkable that not only in them, but also in the military laws of several of the other German powers, not any or hardly the slightest mention is made of the punishment to be awarded for military excesses against civilians. The 26th and 40th articles are extremely vague on the subject, and the 28th would seem to imply that *the nobleman, the public functionary, and the man of marked respectability* have an exclusive privilege extended to them, while the citizen, exhibiting none of these pretensions, has no remedy against the turbulence and brutality of the soldier.

The new military code laid down in Prussia, winds up a string of more than three hundred paragraphs with the one saving clause to protect

\* See Appendix, Note G.

the citizen from the excesses and ill-treatment of the soldiery ; that any infringement of the military police regulations shall be punished, according to the circumstances of the case, with arrest, or with six months' imprisonment in a fortress. In the twenty-eight articles of war established in the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1806, there is still less protection thrown over the citizen classes, although for some singular reason it was thought necessary to insert a peculiar clause for the punishment of bigamy.

The immunity permitted to the soldiery in cases of violence committed on civilians has been long a subject of complaint, and although the press has ventured to speak on the subject, no good result has been obtained. A Lieutenant von Bork, who had distinguished himself by breaches of the peace committed against the citizens, both in his drunken frolics and in his sober moments, stabbed deliberately Mahler, the Referendar of Fulda. He was punished, —but in what proportion to his crime? For a disgraceful and premeditated act of murder, committed in a sober moment, he was condemned to fourteen years' imprisonment in a fortress, with the loss of the national cockade! While the public voice pronounced that the gallows should have been his fate, it at the same time asked what penalty would not the citizen have been called upon to pay, who had committed an act of murder on an officer? But there is a still more glaring

example in the case of the officer, who in consequence of some political remarks of Helmich the bookseller, fell on him and inflicted a number of desperate sabre cuts, for which, owing to the reasons advanced, he was permitted to go unpunished. The bookseller in question was not in favour with the Prussian government, but that should have had no influence on the administration of public justice. The order of the Prussian cabinet in 1845 seems, however, to authorise such partial proceedings, for it says that no demonstration of loyalty and zeal *can be punishable*, even if carried to an excess.

It must be affirmed that in the whole of the military penal codes of the States of Germany, there is not one single law which protects the citizen from the wrongs and excesses of the soldiery, or prevents the public functionaries from behaving with partiality and even with injustice.

Before scrutinising the proceedings of the military courts, it will be advisable to look at the constitution of the courts themselves.

The first is called the Regimental Court, or that of the judge-advocates\*, and is composed of

\* The Austrian army reckons 160 independent judge-advocate courts, of which 38 belong to as many infantry regiments, 18 to the frontier corps, and the Czaikist Battalion, 5 to the field artillery regiments, and the others to the cavalry, guards, the marines, the invalids, and the Neustadt academy. The academy of engineers is attached to the court of the regiment of engineers.

the commandant of the regiment, who is the deputed representative of the *Inhaber*, or patron of the judge-advocate, and of two assessors from among the officers, with whom the judgment rests. All charges made in the regiment, from the lieutenant-colonel downwards, come within the jurisdiction of the regimental court, which possesses a peculiar inquisitorial authority and judicial power in trials and in matters connected with martial law.

The second court, possessing the privileges of a supreme criminal tribunal, is the general military court of appeal at Vienna, to which all other military tribunals are subject. All the judicial acts and sentences of those corps which may be at the moment without an *Inhaber* must be submitted to this court for revision and confirmation. It is composed of a general officer as President, a councillor of state, who acts as Chancellor, of twelve councillors of appeal, an advocate-general, who acts as referee, and of a complement of subaltern officials.

The third court, the High Military Tribunal, is composed of two general officers, and of four councillors of State as referees. The advocates-general are specially selected from the second court, and are entitled to bear a certain rank, either of first lieutenant or captain, according to their years of service, and which the president or the *Inhaber* of a regiment can confer; but it neither

gives them additional influence nor causes any increase in their pay. The staff-advocates, who are the referees in the judicial departments of the districts of the thirteen generals-commandant, hold the rank of junior majors, and the advocates-general that of junior lieutenant-colonels. Besides the advocates already named, and those attached to the different regiments, the Austrian military establishment reckons eleven lieutenant-advocates-general, thirteen staff, and twenty advocates-general, eight registrars, and fifteen actuaries.

The provosts-martial, attached to the various regiments and corps, have the superintendence and custody of the parties in arrest; and the regulations of the lock-up house (Stockhaus), the cleanliness of the barracks, and the carrying out of the sentence pronounced against those arrested, are also entrusted to them. If a soldier be condemned to run the gauntlet\* (Gassenlaufen), the provost must supply and distribute the necessary canes. He is allowed to keep a particular apartment for the accommodation of officers given into his custody, for which he is entitled to receive forty-eight kreutzers (1s. 6d.) daily, but men of rank pay two florins (4s.) There are farther, superior and inferior staff-provosts-martial, whose duties are confined to the districts of the generals-commandant, and to the fortresses, to

\* See page 206.



the superintendence of the garrison and staff lock-up houses, and of the fortress prisoners, with the control of the regulations. In the fortresses of Eszegg, Olmütz, Peterwardein, and Temeswar, certain officials named *Steckenknechte* are associated with them, whose duty it is to put the newly-arrested persons into the prison dress, and to superintend their punishments.

As regards the sentence of death, when the offender is not to fall by the bullet, it is only carried out by military executioners at Eszegg and Agram; and in all other places, the civil functionary officiates.

The judicial criminal proceedings in the Austrian army, when the offence does not fall within the jurisdiction of the usual tribunals, are thus arranged:—

The examination must be conducted before a court of fourteen persons, including the President and the Advocate; which former must hold a higher rank than the assessors, and the other members. The court for the trial of a person, from the rank of captain downwards, must consist of two privates, two exempts, two corporals, two sergeants, two lieutenants, two captains, the major as President, and the Advocate-General. Although, according to the letter of the law, no court composed of only eight persons can assemble, excepting in urgent cases, or on the trial of a man beneath the rank of sergeant, yet it occurs in almost all cases where an officer is not concerned. Such a

half court (*Halbes Verhör*) consists of one individual only from each of the above-named ranks, with a captain as president. For the hearing of trifling charges, a commission of an officer, a president, and an advocate assembles. On the trial of staff officers, or of those of higher rank, assessors from the higher grades officiate in lieu of the subalterns. The accused, according to the rules of discipline, cannot be subject to any regimental punishment, nor to the sentence of any judicial or military proceeding. The distinction between the judicial and military cognizance is, that the former has no jurisdiction where an officer is concerned, nor in cases where an offender is liable to receive more than fifty lashes, or to run the gauntlet twice through three hundred men. Offences which are punishable with seventy-five lashes, or with running the gauntlet six times, fall exclusively within the province of the military courts. A judicial enquiry being entered into by the eight persons before named, the decision is pronounced by the majority of voices, and being signed, is submitted to the *Inhaber* of the regiment for his written confirmation and approval: the power of modifying or increasing the punishment recommended, or of ordering the case to be sent before a court-martial, being entirely in his hands.

The proceedings of a court-martial are clothed with a great deal of solemnity and ceremony. A crucifix and two burning candles are placed on

the table, and the accused, being called up, is asked if he has any objection to make against any member of the court present; and if he should raise any, others are immediately substituted. The advocate-general then desires the court to give its utmost attention to the proceedings, to decide all points without prejudice or partiality, and in conformity with the laws, and to keep the whole of the occurrences secret until the publication of the verdict. Much that follows resembles the system observed in the English courts; but there is one remarkable singularity arising from a division of voices respecting the amount of punishment to be awarded. Should the numbers be even, one half recommending severe, and the other moderate punishment, an average between the two is adopted; and the law especially provides that the verdict shall not be decided on after the hour of noon—an insinuation which is certainly not warranted in the present day.

The subject of flogging has occupied so much of the public attention in England, that a description of the *Gassenlaufen*, its parallel in Austria, and indeed in all the German states, as well as in Russia, may not be uninteresting. The maximum of this punishment, and a fearful one it is, consists in passing ten times through the ranks of 300 men who must not change their canes more than *twice*! The men are drawn up in two lines, facing each other at a given distance, and carrying their

muskets sloped on the left shoulder, with the butt-end projecting forward as much as much as possible, so as to compel the prisoner to keep in the middle of the ranks. When the man, from stubbornness or other causes, perfectly obvious, refuses to submit to this ordeal, he is laid on a bench, and the soldiers are made to defile before him singly, and to inflict their cut as they pass, until the number be accomplished, which may amount to 6000 given on the bare back. If the man, from weakness and exhaustion, cannot, in the opinion of the surgeon, bear the full complement, he is taken off the ground, and the fact reported to the commandant, who possesses the power of remitting the remainder of the sentence, or of ordering its completion when the man shall be sufficiently restored to bear it.

A deserter at the ballot for conscription is liable to three years' extra service, and loses his rights while absent, and his family are placed under surveillance, from which latter cause he seldom fails in surrendering himself.

To complete the picture of the Austrian army, it will be necessary to go into its statistical and financial details; but before dismissing the subject of its discipline and regulations, it will not be out of place to mention some of the singular and minute instructions laid down for the general conduct of the soldier. "The soldier must be faithful to God and his Sovereign. In addressing

a superior, from the corporal upwards, he must use the term *Mr.* (*Herr Corporal, &c.*), with the third person plural to cadets and officers. If he is carrying anything in one hand, he must salute with the other; and if both hands be occupied, he must stand still and face outwards while an officer is passing. Sentinels must be saluted. A man must make his pay answer his purposes, in procuring his daily food, his matters of house-keeping, his washing, and every thing requisite to cleanliness: he must neither borrow nor lend. It is due to the Sovereign who pays him, and to the state which it his duty to protect, to take care of his health, to which cleanliness and regularity are mostly conducive. Daily, and particularly in the morning, he must wash his mouth and eyes, comb his hair, wash his hands, and occasionally his feet, cut his nails, shave his beard, and change his linen at least once in the week. Bathing is permitted in summer under certain regulations, but if heated, he must not enter the water till he be cool,—and the spot must be previously examined to ascertain that the bottom be good and free from holes: a good swimmer must not venture into a strange stream. A man may not lie bareheaded in the sun when he is heated, nor suddenly quench his thirst. In severely cold weather, he must not pass suddenly into a heated room. Washing and drying linen in his room are dangerous, and therefore forbidden. He may not

eat unripe fruit, unwholesome food, bad meat or fish, and warm bread: he may not cook in copper vessels. Men with contagious eruptions shall be separated from others, who must not associate with them. A man feeling unwell must immediately report himself, thankfully remembering that the hospital, with its surgeons, and the things requisite to his comfort, have been provided for him by his Sovereign.

“The soldier must pay unremitting attention to his uniform, arms, ammunition, and appointments; he must neither lose, pawn, nor sell any thing, but must keep his things in perfect order, and ready for immediate use at all hours. He must not brush his uniform with too hard a brush, and must clean it with chalk and clay. He must clean his shoes daily, and occasionally rub them over with fresh grease, to prevent the leather from being cracked or spoiled, &c.

“A corporal may not apply the term *thou* to a private, nor use an offensive epithet, nor strike him without the authority of a superior, who may order the infliction of twenty-five blows; but he must report his having done so. He must be provided with a stick, which must reach in length from the ground to the lowest button of his coat, not exceeding the diameter of his gun-barrel in thickness, and without either ferule or knobs: he must hold it by the leathern strap, and bring the extremity to the outward point of his right foot on meeting

a superior, and when in motion he must carry it by the strap aslant before him, with the point towards the ground, but at other times it must hang suspended to the sword hilt according to the regulations of the service.

“The sergeant must carry a cane equal in length and thickness to that of the corporal, but provided with a ferule. He must address the soldier in the second person plural, and the corporal in the third singular, but the cadet as well as the superior officer in the third plural, in which person he must also be universally addressed himself.”

The period of service has been recently reduced from fourteen to eight years, but it is literally not more than six, as the last two are more understood than real, and are at the disposition of the Landwehr. Leave is given for fourteen days once or twice a year, and once in two years for a lengthened period, according to the distance the soldier has to travel to his home; but if the period should exceed six months, the pay ceases at the end of that time, which regulation applies equally to the officers. The soldier receives no marching money when on service, but is entitled to a pension for service and for wounds. His pay as a private in the line is five kreutzers a day, in a grenadier regiment six kreutzers, and as a cavalry soldier he receives six also, but must find his own horse-shoes: a corporal has ten kreutzers.

Marriage is permitted under certain regulations,

and is divided into two classes: in the first, which is limited, the wife has every privilege conceded to her; but in the second, which is not defined in number, she is not allowed to reside in the barracks, although her husband must; but if he be ordered away, she is entitled to lodgings with two kreutzers and a ration of bread daily from the state. In the barracks of recent construction, a very considerable improvement has been made in the arrangements with reference to the comfort and health of the men, no room being made to contain more than fifteen men, whereas, formerly, they were adapted to one hundred.

The kit and appointments of a soldier are supplied almost on the same principles as in the English army. The soldier, fully equipped for service, carries a weight equal to 34lbs. English, viz. —

			Austrian lbs.
Musket and bayonet *	-	-	- 8½
Knapsack and great coat	-	-	- 12
Cartouch-box, with 60 ball cartridges,	3		
blank ones, and 1 bullet	-	-	- 6½
Sabre	-	-	- 2½
Schako	-	-	- 1½
Total			- 31½

Besides the regular pay, of which a tabular statement is annexed, there are certain allowances

\* The bayonet of a rifle soldier is 27 inches long, clear of the barrel of his piece.



made under peculiar circumstances. In districts where any particular dearth prevails, an allowance is made both to officers and men, the latter receiving it in the shape of what is termed *meat and vegetable contribution*: the former is only given when the pound of beef exceeds ten kreutzers, rising proportionably with the price, and the latter averages universally one-eighth of a kreutzer per man. Officers possessing the Theresa order, or belonging to the Elizabethan institution, and privates who have got the gold or silver medal, receive besides, according to the statutes of their orders, an additional compensation. Officers receive their pay monthly, and the soldiers every five days. The pay of hospital patients is given to the hospital, which provides therefrom the sustenance for the sick. Officers in arrest, as long as they are not superseded, receive the full amount of their pay; but the soldiery are considerably curtailed in that respect, receiving in the provinces of Galicia, Transylvania, and Hungary, only three kreutzers, and in the other states of the empire four kreutzers, with a ration of bread; but if they be sentenced to bread and water, they receive their allowance in kind, and their pay ceases. As a half invalided soldier is not allowed to leave the service, but is made to attend to hospital and barrack duties, or to become the servant of an officer, so, by a fiction in the Austrian military regulations, a man who is selected, or wishes to enter the service of an

officer, must be formally declared, however sound and able he may be, to be half invalided.

In addition to other allowances, an officer is entitled to those of fire-wood and quarters, if he does not choose to avail himself of those placed at his disposal. Of the former, the subaltern officer in the German States receives during a period of six months, and in the Italian provinces during five months of the year, either in money or kind, a monthly provision of either three-fourths of a fathom of soft wood, or half a fathom of hard. As regards the latter, if he selects the barrack quarters, he has two rooms apportioned to him, with a chamber for his servant, and a kitchen; but this preference is rarely given by him excepting in Italy and Vienna.

In stating the pay of the Austrian army\*, a comparison is at the same time shown with that of the troops of Würtemberg and Baden; but the two latter are calculated in Rhenish money, which bears the same relative proportion to that of Austria as twelve does to ten.

Under the head of rations (*Gebühren an Naturalien*) are comprised bread, biscuit, hay and corn. The daily ration of bread, which, by an order of the Cabinet in 1834, was materially improved in quality though reduced in quantity, consists of  $25\frac{1}{4}$  Austrian ounces, and of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  ounces,

\* See Appendix, Note H.

if biscuit be substituted. In fortresses, during war each man receives daily  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a pound of salted or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of smoked meat, 8 ounces of meal, 6 of rice,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of peas, beans, lentils or millet,  $\frac{1}{4}$  ounce of lard, 1 pint of sauerkraut,  $\frac{1}{4}$  ounce of salt, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a quart of vinegar, besides one quart of wine, 2 quarts of beer, and 1 pint of brandy weekly.

General, staff, and superior officers, entitled to rations for their horses, draw daily per horse one gallon of corn and eight pounds of hay; heavy cavalry horses have one gallon of corn and ten pounds of hay, which is reduced to eight pounds for all the other branches of the service, excepting on marches and in war, when all receive ten pounds.

In drawing a comparison between the English and Austrian services, the preference is undoubtedly in favour of the former; but the Austrian soldier is perfectly satisfied with the regulations for his comfort and subsistence, and no complaints are heard.

There is, however, a distinction in the rate of pay in war and peace, as well according to the country or province in which a regiment may be quartered.\*

The strength of the different regiments in the service varies, both according to their denomination, and the states to which they belong.

\* See Appendix, Note I.

There are 58 regiments of the line :

6 Garrison battalions,

20 Grenadier do.,

which are formed from the regiments of the line, each regiment furnishing a division, which bears the name of its actual chief.

*Light Infantry.*

1 Regiment of rifles, formed entirely of conscripts  
from the Tyrol.

12 Light infantry battalions.

17 National frontier infantry regiments.

1 Illyrian Banatish battalion.

*Cavalry.*

8 Cuirassier regiments.

6 Dragoon do.

7 Light Horse do.

12 Hussar do.

4 Uhlan do.

*Artillery.*

5 Field artillery regiments.

1 Bombardier corps.

1 Rocket do.

*Engineers.*

Quartermaster-General's staff.

1 Pioneer regiment.

- 1 Engineer corps.
- 1 Sappers and Miners do.

*Miscellaneous Corps.*

- 1 Czaikist battalion.
- 1 Regiment of Gens-d'armes in Lombardy.
- 1 do of military cordon in Galicia.
- 1 Baggage train.
- 1 Military police corps.

*Imperial Guards.*

- The arrière body-guard.
- The Hungarian noble guard.
- The Italian body-guard.
- The Trabant guard.
- The Palace do. (Hofburgwache).
- The Hungarian Crown guard.

The numerical strength of the army at its war and peace complements, is —

		Peace Men.	War Men.
General staff of the army - -		728	931
German, Hungarian, Italian, and arrière-guards - - -		666	666
Infantry.	43 Regiments of the line - -	153,166	264,875
	15 Hungarian do. - -	66,510	86,385
	20 Grenadier battalions - -	20,340	20,340
	17 Frontier regiments - -	46,842	84,720
	1 Czaikist battalion - -	1,297	2,049
	1 Tyrolese rifle regiment - -	5,459	5,459
	12 Light infantry battalions - -	15,336	17,880
	6 Garrison do. - -	5,962	5,962
Total -		314,912	487,670

	Peace Men.	War Men.
8 Cuirassier regiments - - -	8,216	10,352
6 Dragoon do. - - -	6,162	7,764
7 Light horse do. - - -	10,626	14,308
12 Hussar do. - - -	17,766	23,960
4 Uhlan do. - - -	6,072	8,176
Total -	48,842	64,560
Bombardier corps - - -	1,075	1,075
Rocket do. - - -	1,000	1,000
5 regiments field artillery - - -	18,735	18,735
Ordnance department - - -	472	472
Garrison artillery - - -	4,471	4,471
Total -	25,753	25,753
Pioneer regiment - - -	3,240	3,240
Sappers and Miners - - -	1,080	1,080
Miners - - -	1,080	1,080
Total -	5,400	5,400
Waggon train with 6000 horses -	4,000	4,000
General, staff, and field officers of Engineers - - -	180	180
Grand Total -	400,481	589,160

The following analysis of the above numbers is as nearly correct as it is possible to gain from the official sources:—

General Officers - - - -	5	
Generals of Ordnance - - -	17	
Lieutenant Field-Marsbals - - -	93	
Major-Generals - - - -	119	
		<hr/>
		234
Colonels - - - -	194	
Lieutenant-Colonels - - -	194	
Majors - - - -	477	
		<hr/>
		865
Captains - - - -	1,760	
Captain-Lieutenants - - -	910	
First Lieutenants - - -	7,442	
Subalterns and Cadets - - -	1,510	
Chaplains - - - -	123	
		<hr/>
		11,745
Rank and File		
On Leave - - - -	155,411	
Present with their Regiments	156,237	
Total Rank and File		<hr/>
		311,648
Pensioners - - - -		50,045
Artillery, &c. - - - -		25,753
Cavalry - - - -		48,842
		<hr/>
Grand Total - - - -		449,132
		<hr/>
Horses - - - -		51,873

This amazing force is extended over the whole of the Austrian dominions, covering the entire country with numberless small detachments, even to the larger villages. It is divided among the provinces in the following proportions, and, as a table of the population is added to the statement, it will be at once seen on which side the precautions of the Government are chiefly taken, and where its uneasiness principally lies.\*

\* This return applies to the position of the troops before the late convulsions took place, which have naturally caused a change.

	Population without Military.	Military.
Lower Austria, including the capital, with a population of 410,047 souls, and a garrison of 21,578 men - - -	1,375,400	33,266
Upper Austria - - -	844,914	12,652
Styria - - -	966,863	18,446
Carinthia and Carniola - -	757,395	2,146
Coast Land - - -	477,702	3,487
Tyrol - - -	830,948	8,807
Bohemia - - -	4,112,085	60,083
Moravia and Silesia - - -	2,162,086	4,552
Galicia - - -	4,718,991	70,252
Dalmatia - - -	384,572	9,456
Lombardy - - -	2,516,420	30,556
Venice - - -	2,137,608	30,945
Hungary - - -	12,039,400	55,802
Transylvania - - -	2,069,800	9,400
Military Frontiers - - -	1,147,283	50,322

With respect to the divisions of the army, they are not different from those adopted by other countries; that is, two regiments make a brigade, and two brigades a division; and if a division is ordered on service, it is composed of a proportionate number of men of all arms: but it is rather singular to observe how differently and disproportionately divisions of the other and smaller German states are officered in comparison with the Austrian. In the Würtemberg service, for instance, a regiment consists of 800 men, without reckoning the officers, and a division consequently would be 3200 men, which, by adding 400 more for officers of all grades, commissioned and non-commissioned, amounts to 3600 men.



These are commanded by a lieutenant-general of division, 2 major-generals as brigadiers, 4 colonel commandants, 4 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 32 captains, 64 lieutenants, 8 fusileer officers and 7 adjutants, making a total of 126 officers, among which are 3 general and 12 staff officers.

An Austrian regiment is commanded by 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 21 captains, 73 subalterns, in all 99 officers, without a general, and with only 5 staff officers, and consists of two grenadier and sixteen light infantry companies, containing 3318 men. The Hungarian and Transylvanian regiments have the same number of companies, but with 3638 men; a rifle regiment has 18 companies and 3820 men, and the Croatian, Sclavonian, and Banatisch frontier regiments have each 12 companies, with 2711 men. The cavalry regiments are not of equal strength, but are regulated in that respect by the character of their arms: the average, however, stands at 1200 sabres and as many horses, with an additional 100 men for the war complement.

The position of Germany as regards its kingdoms and number of petty states into which it is broken up, and their union under the denomination of the *Germanic Confederation* (*Bundesstaaten*), together with the forces which each is bound to maintain under this league, is highly singular. The establishment of the so-called Confederation of the

Rhine was an immediate consequence of the reverses of Austria in the campaign of 1805, and was the first and avowed measure of Bonaparte to assume the control of the German empire. The elements of dissolution, however, manifested themselves as the power of that conqueror began to decline in Germany; and prior to the campaign of Leipzig, the Confederation was already virtually dissolved, and became finally annulled in 1814; but it was replaced at the Congress of Vienna by an association on a larger scale, under the name of the Germanic Confederation, as it now exists.

The first blow inflicted on the German empire, and which led eventually to this settlement, dates from the peace of Luneville, in 1800, when, after the negotiations had extended over a period of two years, its constitution was entirely changed by the cession of Belgium and the whole of the left bank of the Rhine to France, the secularisation of the ecclesiastical states, and the absorption of a vast number of the smaller territories, belonging to the *immediate* and *mediate* nobles; and, finally, its existence as an empire ceased altogether in 1806, when the Emperor Francis of Austria abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany. The term *immediate*, as applied to certain nobles, derived its origin from the protection afforded by the Emperor to the counts and petty princes, who, being too weak to defend their own domains, held direct

from him as their Suzerain, without reference to the princes in whose territories their domains actually lay, so that they were, in fact, vassals of the Empire. The *mediate*, on the contrary, held direct from the prince in whose territories their domain was situated.

The number of the States forming the Confederation is still large; and as they are perfectly independent, and acknowledge no union in common beyond the obligations imposed upon them as members of the Confederation, a desire has been manifested by some of the restless spirits of the day to establish a principle of nationality, and to restore the integrity of the empire.

In the annexed table of these States, showing the proportions of troops which each is bound to maintain, the square miles and population placed against them respectively, refer only to those parts of them which come within the territorial limits of the Confederation, for several have only portions of their dominions within that circle. The letter Z, where prefixed, denotes that the State belongs to the *Zollverein*; and C, that it is governed by a constitution of some kind.

States.					Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent.
Austria	-	-	-	-	3,580	11,480,000	94,822
Prussia	-	-	-	Z C	3,363	10,776,000	79,484
Bavaria	-	-	-	Z C	1,395	4,400,000	35,600
Hanover	-	-	-	- C	695	1,756,000	13,054
Württemberg	-	-	-	Z C	360	1,690,000	13,955

States.				Square Miles.	Population.	Conti- gent.
Saxony	-	-	Z C	272	1,660,000	12,000
Baden	-	-	Z C	275	1,240,000	10,000
Mecklenberg Schwerin	-	-	C	228	505,000	3,580
Mecklenberg Strelitz	-	-	C	52	90,000	717
Chur Hessen	-	-	Z -	208	730,000	5,670
Grand Duchy of Hessen	-	-	Z C	153	812,000	6,195
Holstein	-	-	- C	156	450,000	3,600
Oldenburg	-	-	- -	114	270,000	2,650
Luxemburg and Lim- burg	-	-	- -	89	334,000	2,556
Nassau	-	-	Z C	83	400,000	4,039
Brunswick	-	-	- C	73	260,000	2,096
Saxe Weimar Eisenach	-	-	Z C	67	248,000	2,010
Saxe Meiningen Hild- burghausen	-	-	Z C	43	148,000	1,150
Saxe Coburg Gotha	-	-	Z C	36	140,000	1,116
Saxe Altenburg	-	-	Z C	23	124,000	982
Waldeck	-	-	Z C	22	58,000	519
Lippe	-	-	- C	21	104,000	691
Reuss Schleitz	-	-	Z C	22	70,000	522
Reuss Greitz	-	-	Z C	7	33,000	223
Schwarzburg Rudol- stadt	-	-	Z C	19	66,000	539
Schwarzburg Sonder- hausen	-	-	Z C	17	56,000	451
Hohenzollern Sigma- ringen	-	-	Z C	18	44,000	356
Hohenzollern Hechin- gen	-	-	Z C	7	24,000	145
Anhalt Dessau	-	-	Z -	17	62,000	529
Anhalt Bernburg	-	-	Z -	16	46,000	370
Anhalt Köthen	-	-	Z -	15	40,000	325
Schaumburg Lippe	-	-	- C	9	28,000	240
Hessen Homburg	-	-	Z -	8	24,000	200
Lichtenstein	-	-	- C	3	6,200	55
Hamburg	-	-	- -	7	158,000	1,298
Lübeck	-	-	- -	7	50,000	407
Bremen	-	-	- -	5	65,000	485
Frankfurt	-	-	Z -	4	64,000	479
Total				11,489	38,511,200	303,110

These forces are naturally differently constituted, and therefore, in order to illustrate the composition of the armies of these several States, the three examples of Würtemberg and the Duchies of Baden and Hesse have been selected.\*

The *Inhaber* of a regiment is either a general officer or a lieutenant field-marshal, whose name the regiment bears, unless the original *Inhaber* shall have been a prince of some foreign state. He does not interfere in its internal economy or disciplinary regulations, although he has the power of altering any objectionable measures of the commandant, and of issuing his own orders, provided they are not at variance with the fixed rules of the service. He is in a manner the chief justice of the regiment, as possessing the *jus gladii et aggratiandi*, and the right of modifying, confirming, and even of annulling, the sentences of a judicial procedure and of a military tribunal, and as the supreme authority can pass and carry out the sentence of death, or mitigate it by some other mode of punishment, without reference to the authorities of the state. In cases of high treason, duelling, forgery, or counterfeiting the paper currency of the empire, the *Inhaber* can cause proceedings to be instituted, and even stop those of a military court; but he cannot interfere with the sentence, which must be laid, with the evidence, before the

\* See Appendix, Note K.

supreme court of justice of the empire before its purport is made known.

As it often occurs that the *Inhaber* is residing at one extremity of the empire when his regiment is quartered at the other, and that in times of active service also it is necessarily far removed from his immediate surveillance, he possesses the right of deputing the *jus gladii* to the colonel, but without the *jus aggratiandi*, inasmuch as the justiciary business of the regiment would be seriously impeded and delayed by the tediousness of postal communication. He has the privilege of promoting to a superior rank the regimental advocate (*auditor*) named by the council of war, by raising him to the grade of first lieutenant or captain, but without any concomitant pecuniary advantage. In cases of such serious misconduct in an officer that it cannot be wiped off by the usual rules of discipline, but requires a more searching investigation, and even to be brought before a court-martial, he can order proceedings to be instituted, and can also in the exercise of his right inflict a suitable punishment upon him, and cause him to be suspended altogether.

The staff officers and commandants of regiments draw up in common the conduct report of their officers, of which they send one copy to the war department, and another to their *Inhaber*. This report, and the occasional recommendations of the commandant, are the basis on which the

*Inhaber* forms his judgment on matters which require his decision, and by which he regulates the promotions of the officers, whom he has no opportunity of knowing personally. He promotes the cadets and other volunteers in his regiment to the rank of officer, and has the right of promotion in every grade up to, and including that of, captain. Every third vacancy in a regiment belongs to the minister of war, who either makes it over to the *Inhaber*, or appoints to it himself. The *Inhaber's* authority extends to the right of promoting one officer over the head of another, even as often as six times, either on account of misconduct in the latter, or of the vast superiority in acquirements of the former, notwithstanding the rules of seniority; but he is bound on each occasion to state the reasons of this preference to the supplanted party. The emperor has the nomination to all grades, from that of major upwards, on the recommendations of the minister of war, to whom the *Inhaber* must also address those he wishes to prefer. The abuses of power committed by the *Inhabers* have been carried to an extraordinary pitch during the last decennary: it is a well-known and established fact, that steps in the army have been sold by the mistresses of general officers for sums of 200 and 300 florins, and that in consequence of the notoriety of the scandal, the minister of war suspended several *Inhabers* for indefinite periods, and assumed their

functions himself. A general spirit of joy pervaded the whole army some few years back, at a report which appeared in the papers, that the privileges of the *Inhabers* were either to be entirely taken away, or most materially circumscribed. Nepotism, however, continues to reign undisturbed, and deserving officers and cadets linger on for years in hopeless expectation of their just claims being heard, whilst the favoured men are being passed over their heads. The old proverb of "might before right" has never been more truly exemplified than in this partial distribution of honours in the service.

Although it is not at all unusual for an officer of the line to serve for twenty years before he can attain the rank of captain, yet it constantly occurs that men possessing strong influence gain that position within five or six years; and there are numerous instances in the army of men, not of the first families, but belonging either to the lower orders of the nobility, or to the wealthy circles, having become even staff officers before their twenty-sixth year. When seniority is laid down as the basis of promotion, this is manifestly unjust; but money is the social lever, and as its possessor can open the door of the sanctuary itself, it naturally follows that the old and deserving officer is passed over to make room for the titled or monied favourite. The following circumstance, which is comparatively of recent date, is an apt



illustration of the system. A young man, of the most limited means, and without fortune, was serving as a cadet in a regiment of the line, and had attained the rank of corporal. The recommendations of his captain, who discerned his merits, were constantly set aside by the colonel commandant of the regiment, with the remark that Baron Sternbach must abandon all pretensions to promotion till he had qualified himself to discharge the duties of a subaltern. Within three months the cadet gained a lawsuit, in which his family had been long engaged, and became possessed of an income of 20,000 florins a year. Again his friendly captain pushed his claims, and, without a question or remonstrance, the previously refused rank was at once accorded to him.

In former times the Austrian army was recruited entirely by volunteers, which system was adopted by the Emperor Maximilian I. in the establishment of his army, and was found most effective during the period of the thirty years' war. Subsequently, foreigners were enlisted, in order that the state should not be too much impoverished by the withdrawal of too many of the labouring population from the cultivation of the land; and in 1722 recourse was had to its own means, by filling the ranks with men obtained by stratagems, compulsion, and by the influence of drink. In 1771 peculiar recruiting districts were established; and in 1780 the conscription by ballot was ordained,

and the mode of enlistment under the former processes entirely superseded. In 1788 a law was passed to include the Jews in the liabilities of the conscription, but giving them, equally with the other subjects of the state, the privilege of rising to the rank both of non-commissioned and of commissioned officers. In 1802 it was determined that the former regulation of service for life should cease; and in 1811 the compulsory limit was confined to fourteen years, which has since been reduced to eight. The general state levy continued till 1806, when the German empire fell; but the system continued in force as regarded the frontiers till 1817.!

The empire, with reference to the conscription, is now divided into seventy-nine districts, of which fifty-eight belong to the infantry, twenty to the frontiers, and one (the Tyrol) to the rifle regiments. The other corps of the army, such as the cavalry and artillery, have men drafted to them from the infantry districts, to which they are privileged to apply. Such a district contains from 370,000 to 400,000 souls in the German States, and from 450,000 to 500,000 in the Italian.

There are eleven classes, with regard to age, to which the liabilities of the conscription extend; that is, they comprise every man from his nineteenth to his twenty-ninth year, who, when their period of service is expired, are subject to the duties of the militia till their thirtieth year.

These classes are so arranged, that after the registration has been made of all who are liable to serve, those who have completed their nineteenth year are first selected; and should the number be deficient, it is made up from those in their twentieth year. The selection of the individuals on whom the ballot has fallen remains with the authorities, who are supposed to be guided by the necessities of the service, and by the fitness of the parties; but the abuse of this authority, both in partiality and in venal compromise, is notoriously flagrant. Certain classes are either by profession or by position exempt from the liability; such as the nobles, the clergy, public functionaries, peasants who are occupiers of land, doctors of law and medicine, surgeons, prizemen from the Academy of Arts, the only son of a septuagenarian father or mother who depends on him for support, students, and lastly sons who maintain helpless parents or relations. Since the year 1835 the exemption has not been allowed to persons in trade. In order, however, to satisfy as far as possible the numerous objections which must naturally exist against a military life, from the peculiarities of education, disposition, and pursuits, it is permitted to the recruits in time of peace to procure substitutes, who may be soldiers who have already served their allotted period, and even young men of from twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age, and still within the ban of the con-

scription, provided that the contingent of recruits on the first list be already completed. The person producing a substitute must deposit the sum of 120 florins in the regimental funds for his benefit, which is paid over to him on the expiration of his time; and as no one can be made a substitute compulsorily, he generally makes his own terms besides, and receives into the bargain a large sum privately.

In the Italian provinces, a peculiar system of recruitment has been established since 1820, by which the country has been divided into eight districts, to each of which one regiment of the line has been apportioned. The liability to serve extends over the whole mass of the population, without exception, from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth year, to the exclusion only of those disabled by infirmities, offenders who have been deprived of their civil rights after the expiration of their term of imprisonment, public functionaries, professors, clergy, and the only sons of septuagenarian parents: seamen, fishermen, and shipwrights are turned over to the navy. Substitution is, however, permitted on the payment of 350 Austrian Lires\*, which are held as a security in the event of desertion, till the substitute has completed his term of service, when the money is repaid to the original depositor. The parties who come within the ban of service are divided into

\* About eleven guineas.

five classes, according to age, and each class into five lists. In the first are the non-liaible, in the second the excluded, in the third the exempt by tenure of office, in the fourth those capable of service, in the fifth those who have been previously exempted, who are again divided into four classes, and are not called out excepting in cases of the deepest urgency. In all cases, the list of those returned for service is made by ballot.

The Tyrol, which, from its position and natural features, deserves the greatest attention in a military point of view, has not only to supply a contingent of troops to the army, but is charged with a peculiar system of defence, which was imposed on it by the Emperor Maximilian I., and was maintained, with certain modifications, until the close of the last century. It consisted in a general charge of national defence, laid on the whole country, by the organisation of a militia force, which was composed of four levies, formed from every fifth, tenth, fifteenth, and twentieth man, according to the emergency of the case; and who had to fly to the threatened point with the utmost promptitude. Should this fourfold levy, however, not be equal to the imminence of the danger, the whole posse comitatus was to be immediately roused. In the year 1744 a permanent force was established, and the militia by degrees permitted to be extinguished till the year 1802, when it was again called out till

1805, when the Tyrol ceased to be a dependency of the Austrian dominions, and was passed to the crown of Bavaria. On its re-annexation, it was settled that it should maintain a rifle force of four batallions; but no new provisions having been made for a constitutional local force, the former system continues to be acted upon, by which 20,000 men are held equipped and ready for immediate service.

Hungary is exempt from the conscription, and has no fixed system of recruitment; for when such is necessary, it is the duty of the Diet to regulate what number of men shall be drafted into the Hungarian regiments, and to decide how many men shall be furnished by each division, (comitat), with their period of service. The levy, the selection, and the distribution of the men come within the province of the commonalties and local authorities, the noble, of whatever rank, being exempt. Should the vacancies in the ranks be so numerous between the levy ordered by the last Diet and that to follow, both the Hungarian and Transylvanian regiments are privileged to have recourse to voluntary enlistment, by powers granted them in the years 1809 and 1836, each regiment having its peculiar recruiting district assigned to it.

The Imperial navy is small, possessing only as many ships as are absolutely necessary for the protection of the Austrian maritime commerce.

In former times, when hostilities with the Turks were frequent, many vessels and flotillas were kept in the waters of the Danube; but the occasion having ceased, that armament no longer exists.

The origin of the Austrian navy dates from the peace of Campoformio, by which a great portion of the Venetian Republic, with its lagunes, was ceded to Austria; which, possessing itself of its navy in 1798, held it till 1806, when Venice passed again into the hands of the French. Austria was by this event limited to the so-called Triestine navy, but which was also lost to it by the surrender of the coast-land to France. The convention of the 23rd April, 1814, restored Venice, the coast land, and their respective navies, again to Austria.

The actual force of vessels equipped for service and available if required, consists of—

- 3 frigates, of which one is the Admiral's flag-ship at Venice.
- 1 corvette, first class,
- 2 do. second class,
- 1 do. third class,
- 3 brigs, from 16 to 20 guns,
- 7 galliotts of 12,
- 47 gun-boats of 3,
- 2 schooners of 4,
- 1 steamer of 8,
- 1 transport brig.

These are manned by 1470 men, and commanded by —

2 vice-admirals, '

2 rear-admirals,

16 captains,

110 lieutenants,

60 cadets.

This array is so little imposing, and its capabilities so extremely limited, that it is highly entertaining to hear the Austrians attach the highest importance to its services at the battle of Navarino, of which victory they claim little less than the entire credit.



## THE PEASANTRY.

THE condition of the peasantry in Austria has not only been entirely neglected, but has been looked upon as a political nullity. By its conduct, however, in the Galician insurrection, it gave such startling and unexpected proofs of its national importance, that it could no longer be doubted by those who had hitherto held it in contempt, that it was intended for other purposes than to bear the sole burthens of the state, and the injustice of private exactions. The extraordinary sacrifices it submitted to, and the exertions it made for the benefit of the empire during the course of the late war, were not recompensed by any improvement in its condition, although the interests of the state would have been manifestly advanced in an equal proportion. It has, on the contrary, been sacrificed to the interests of the nobles, and made the victim of the most culpable persecution. Since the days of the benevolent Joseph it has found enemies rather than mediators in the saloons of the aristocracy, which is attributable at a glance to the machinations of the bureaucracy, who dread nothing so much as to fall under the suspicion of demagoguism. The philanthropist and friend of the people are held as enemies

to the state in the estimation of the aristocracy, for the natural reason that their interest is concerned in the maintenance of a system which they will not relax as long as it can be made subservient to their profit ; and whosoever may venture to entertain a thought in opposition to this principle is certain to draw down on himself the wrath of this powerful body, and to be assailed by numberless persecutions. Such has been the fate of the memory of the Emperor Joseph II., whose elevated character has been mercilessly and vindictively aspersed, and whose creative genius and distinguished talents have not been sufficient to save him from being classed among the narrow-minded and prejudiced tyrants of history.

It is necessary to remove the obligations which compel the small landed proprietor to parcel out and to divide his land among his heirs, before the depressed condition of the peasant can be raised. All the theoretical objections advanced against the concession of this privilege have been signally disproved in other German states. The mischievous effects of this dismemberment of the land is seen in the poverty which results from it, and the extent to which migration is carried in consequence. If the little property which afforded a moderate subsistence to one family be divided among five individuals, each of whom again represents a family, to whom the entire plot would be insufficient for a maintenance, how much less

would it be so, when it became divided and subdivided again. The obligations on the cadets of noble families to conform to the law of primogeniture would be fully acquiesced in by the peasant, who complies with the regulations for the apportionment of his land only as far as they are made compulsory by the state. The maintenance of the evil is a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy to destroy the independence of the peasant, and to ensure his servitude by poverty.

Austria is, equally with the rest of Germany, more dependent on her agriculture than her manufactories; and if the former be neglected, the latter must be productive of evil rather than of good. The newly projected form of government will take the means of developing the powers of the agricultural classes into its serious consideration; but it must begin by removing all the obstructions which antiquated notions have heaped upon them. The neglected spiritual condition of the country labourers stands prominent in the rubric of obstructions. The official statistical tables display a vast array of popular schools, teachers, assistants, and visitors, and, to judge from that report, national education is the radiant point of the government; but the result is far from being satisfactory, if these institutions be measured by their fruits. While public education has made vast strides in other parts of Germany, it has remained stationary in Austria. The teachers

are so badly paid, that, to save themselves from want, they are often compelled to take service in aid of their scanty allowance. Very many of the school-houses are in a most ruinous condition, and often from the simple reason, that the permission to rebuild or repair is delayed even for years by the tedious progress of public business. The rooms also are often too small for the public wants, and the children are packed together in a most unhealthy compass. The spirit of economy which seems to prevail in this branch of the public expenditure might be better applied in other directions. After six or seven years' schooling, the utmost that the children have gained is a mere superficial knowledge of the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, beyond which they never advance, partly because the teacher himself can go no farther. At the same time that no material acquirements are to be got in the schools, all instruction in domestic duties is neglected. In the whole of the Austrian states, not one useful manual, and, still more, not one work of reference or information for the labouring classes, is to be found. The reading of the peasant is limited to some trash of the so-called holy legends, as absurd as unscriptural, and to little elementary books which he buys at the yearly fair of his village. The clergy have not the remotest idea of procuring useful books for him, nor even of drawing his attention to them;

and, indeed, it is not an unusual opinion among them, that it would be better if he could not read at all. It follows, hence, that the peasants gain nothing by the course of elementary education which has been pursued towards them; and instead of deriving knowledge and intelligence, they only become bewildered and lost. It appears as much beyond belief, that the Galician peasant should hold as a witch, and even bury alive under that impression, the unfortunate being, who, recovering from a death-like trance, has given proofs of resuscitation by some slight movement, as that the German peasant should at the present day be sunk in the wild superstitions and monstrous absurdities of past ages, terrified at any unusual appearance in the heavens, seeking charms as a cure in sickness, and totally ignorant of, and unequal to, the least scheme to benefit his domestic economy. But it may be said, what stimulus has the peasant to improve his condition, when he knows that he toils only for his lord and for the state? he neglects himself because he feels himself neglected. It must not be imagined that the peasant is unconscious of and blunted to the restriction to improvement which he is made to experience. His sensibility of what *is* due to him has never been keener than at the present time, when he has been able to perceive the general advance of improvement, and to compare it with his own neglected condition. He knows

that he is entitled to be supported and protected, because all the chief burthens of the state fall upon him, and he consequently yields the most sincere acknowledgments, the most unshaken fidelity, and the most upright conduct, in return for the slightest amendment in his condition, for any advantage given him, and for even the shadow of goodwill evinced towards him.

It is necessary to pass a summary law for the abolishment of all socage and feudal service, in order to give the peasant the assurance that the government is sincere in the reformation of abuses, and is occupied with his welfare. The task of arranging the commutation for these services, and of settling the disputes which must necessarily occur therefrom, will be formidable; but the expedient of fixing the value by a supreme and general law is always open. Local arrangements on this subject, which would be better postponed till the introduction of a new constitution, cannot be adopted, as the settlement would occupy years, and the relative position of the peasantry to their feudal lords will not admit of such delay. The conversion of these burthens into a fifteen or twenty years' purchase would appear to offer the least difficulty, particularly where the amounts vary from deaths, and the exchange and sales of property. In cases where the state owns the feudal rights, it could be defined without impediment, and the concession would have the effect of

emancipating nearly the whole of the peasant population of the duchy of Salzburg.

Public opinion has been long in favour of the removal of these intolerable imposts, and the general good calls so loudly for it, that no ground for alarm or for postponement can exist; and the more especially, as many enlightened landowners have expressed their conviction that the annihilation of the *Robot*, and other similar burthens, would be more advantageous to them than otherwise; and, finally, the change is rendered imperative from the circumstance that the rural population of several provinces have, of their own accord, busied themselves with the subject, although, as yet, no great progress has been made.

The government sends out competent persons to advance the interests of its manufactures; and well would it repay them to show a similar attention to the educational improvement of the people, by encouraging the introduction of sound and useful books, by urging the clergy to devote themselves to raise the veil of ignorance from their parishioners, and by offering rewards and advancement to those who were zealous in the cause. What now occurs in this respect is little else than a stereotyped formality. As long as the system of education is so straitened and insipid, it matters little that rewards are given to children, and that the names of the recipients are paraded in the papers, for such stimulus is worn threadbare, and is but little regarded. ,

The peasant race is the natural nursery for the army of the state, whose defence is entrusted to it; and it would seem that the closer the bond of union between the two, a consummation so easy to be effected by a proper exercise of regard and confidence, the greater would be its efficacy. When Duke Frederick IV. of Tyrol, who had been treacherously handled by the Emperor Sigismund at Constance, took the field against his rebellious vassals, his force consisted entirely of peasants who espoused his cause; and to a similar combination in later times, in 1845 namely, the government owed its success in Galicia. It must invariably occur that the peasantry will form the natural barrier against the nobles and their rapacity, as the latter have never studied to attach them to their interests, and will never succeed in so attaching them. But should the government not be secure of their adhesion beforehand, and should defer to ascertain on which side the peasantry will take its stand till a political outbreak has actually manifested itself amongst them, the danger will be most momentous and incalculable. This undeniable fact is decisive against every objection to the emancipation of the peasantry, as well in reference to their temporal condition as to their spiritual nonage.

If state considerations render the advancement of the condition of the peasantry necessary, right and justice demand it more imperatively. If



these require that the peasantry shall be formally represented in the provincial assemblies, as they are in the Tyrol, the objection naturally arises, that the prelates and men of rank would attend to their own interests, to the prejudice of those of the peasants, which are in direct opposition to them.

Right and justice call loudly for reform in the system of conscription, recruiting, and military service. Besides the already accorded relief in the period of service by reducing its term from fourteen to eight years, the application of the ballot for filling up the levy required is much desired, in order to check the caprice and partiality of the presiding authority of the districts. In the service itself, the disgraceful and atrocious caning should be suppressed, as needless for the maintenance of discipline, and opposed to the moral improvement of the man. In the most rugged characters, a germ of honour, whether undeveloped or hidden, exists so surely that it may be reckoned upon at need; but when it is altogether strangled, neither caning nor flogging are of further avail. The theory of intimidation by punishment is guided by no half measures in the present day, but the authorities are not favourable to expiations of a derogatory and cruel nature.

The labouring classes in the towns find shelter and medical assistance during sickness in the

hospitals and other charitable institutions ; but where such are not to be found, in the country, they are left altogether to shift for themselves ; or, if they are not totally disabled, they quarter themselves on the peasants' houses, and, as they cannot reasonably remain longer than a certain time in one house, they shift from one to another till they make the circuit of the district. The afflictions of helplessness, old age, and sickness are acutely felt under this precarious kind of dependence, which subjects the intruding sufferer to unfeeling and even barbarous treatment, the extent of which can only be imagined when one compares the amount of human misery with the insufficiency of the remedies afforded by the state. It is the imperative duty of the state to insist on the authorities appointed to watch over the health of their districts, to afford medical relief and necessary attention to the poor peasant, and to save him from utter destitution at the close of a life which has been spent in an honest struggle to procure the barest subsistence. The little that is done is doled out with the wretched economy of a grudging spirit. The most ordinary medicines, but little more expensive in themselves than the merest simples, are substituted by some succedaneum ; and if the stimulant of wine be necessary, it is of so bad a quality, that it is more injurious than beneficial.

Public indignation has often been called forth

against the brutality of some parochial authorities in this kingdom, and against the disgraceful system of letting out by contract the attendance on the pauper sick. This state of things is not worse in Austria, excepting that it is general instead of local in all the rural districts. The outcry there is, that the helpless sick should be at once transported to the nearest hospital or infirmary, without having to pass through the tedious and, after all, doubtful process of soliciting an admission from the government itself, through the medium of the petty officer of the spot.

In recent times, the church offerings have been hoarded up in such a manner, that in many provinces neither schools nor infirmaries are supported; and seldom, most seldom, does it occur that any new hospital or charitable institution is founded, or that any testamentary gift is made to those in existence. The whole blame of this callousness rests with the clergy, with whom it lies; and it should be enforced on them by the government, to awaken the people to their duties of administering to the sick and needy, and to exert themselves, not only by personal application, but also by exhortation from the pulpit. With reference to this neglect of all humane considerations, the empire has passed into an opposite extreme since the Josephenian era, when the church was not permitted to appropriate anything

to itself. Now, new convents raise their heads, whose support falls on the already overburthened peasant; additional places of pilgrimage are contrived, although the old ones were far too numerous; costly churches are built, new bells procured, and numberless internal decorations and restorations are made, all out of the crippled funds of the unfortunate peasant, who dares not resist the will of his spiritual master. The excess to which these matters are carried, particularly in the Tyrol, proves that it is high time to interpose, and to insist that the peasant, who has cheerfully submitted to be taxed, even to his last penny, for church purposes, shall be provided with shelter, food, and attention when he is past labour, broken by age, or bowed down by sickness. The government cannot be too much on its guard against the increasing luxury of its churchmen, and this is not the less incumbent, although the public treasury is not affected by it; for if communities are made to suffer, the general welfare experiences the effect. If it were possible to ascertain the sums of money which are paid, year by year, for the maintenance of a single convent, containing from thirty to fifty individuals, by the surrounding community, it would excite both surprise and sympathy, which would be increased in a tenfold ratio on consideration of the fact, that in some districts there are many such convents, and that, with rare exceptions, they are

utterly superfluous as regards the spiritual welfare of the people. Should the period ever arrive when the government shall seriously contemplate an amelioration in the condition of the peasantry, by reducing their burthens by every possible means, the first thing to claim its attention will be the relief from all the useless and indirect taxes which are wrung from them by mendicant convents, nunneries, and the insatiable luxury of the priests.

It is certain that the state would derive a two-fold, as well as a more honourable benefit from the cultivation of the soil, if the mistaken policy of the restrictive system, as regards the peasants, were abolished. Its removal will establish, by the clearest evidence, the fact, that both the government and the great landowners have been sustaining a loss of revenue from its consequences. This consideration alone is sufficient to give an impetus to the question, and to throw such a preponderance into the scale as to effect a speedy reform. Should this ever occur, the proof will not be long wanting; inasmuch as the finances of the country will be strengthened by a rich and never-ceasing stream, whose source will be deeper than the noisy and artificial current of its manufactures; and, strong in the gratitude of its people, it will have cemented a bond of union which no selfish interests can sever.

There is hardly a province in which large tracts

of uncultivated land are not to be found, neglected only from the positive inability of the peasants to till them, and this occurs too in the face of the notorious fact that the growth of corn is so far insufficient in the German provinces, that there is even often a want of it,—compelling the inhabitants of Upper Austria and on the borders of the Tyrol to import corn from other countries, while other parts depend on their supplies from Hungary and Italy. Grazing is another source of loss on the land, and the peasant has not the courage to undertake any new and extended system of husbandry, for in his destitute condition he cannot risk the consequences of an experiment, the result of which he cannot foresee. He argues thus:—“Under the old system, I know tolerably well beforehand on what I may calculate; but should the result of any new experiment, however strongly recommended, prove unpropitious, I shall fail in realising my accustomed rental, the loss of which, even for one harvest, would be fatal to me.” This mode of reasoning is perfectly just, and proves that no improvement in agriculture can or will take place as long as destitution is the consequence of a false system of legislation.

If to the 156 *Robottagen*, or the days on which the peasant has to render service to his lord, the 52 Sundays, and about 18 compulsory festivals, besides some thirty others, which are observed by the people, be added, there is an aggregate of 248

days in the year lost, leaving only 117 which he can devote to his own personal and domestic purposes. Robbed of his time on one hand, and compelled to support his labourers on the other, while employed on services not his own, or idle during the many holydays appointed by the church, the small farmer has neither the energy nor the means to extend his operations. Struggling on with a feeling of desperation, he has often another enemy to contend against in the person of the usurer; for, driven to extremity, he is compelled to hire oxen to assist him in tilling his land, from certain Jews. The agreement is weekly; but seed and harvest times arrive, and the Jews call home their cattle: ruin stares the man in the face, and he is compelled to re-hire them at so enormous a rate, that finally there is no extrication from his embarrassments.

The only remedy for his position, and to give him the time necessary for his own livelihood, is the abolishment of the *Robot*, and the curtailment of the festivals. The Emperor Joseph was strongly in favour of these measures, but since the conservative policy has been resumed, both they and the pilgrimages\* are again in full strength. Bigotted as is the reigning house of Austria, it

\* In the Tyrol alone there are 170 places of pilgrimage; and it cannot be denied by the most pious believer in their efficacy, but they lead to idleness and expense under the garb of religion.

cannot see that, while not one true step is made to the advancement of religion, a great moral evil is actually promoted by these festivals alone. On these days the peasant attends his church, and adjourns thence to the public-house, and after his dinner he returns thither again, where he carouses and plays till late at night; suffering thus a two-fold injury by the loss of time and the habits of dissipation, neither of which his scanty means can afford.

In the absence of a proper directing spirit, many other evils have grown up, and so engrafted themselves on the character of the inhabitants of the rural districts, that it is almost hopeless to attempt to extirpate them. The public-house would never have had its charms, had care been taken to provide nobler and more edifying pursuits, such as public sports and popular recreations; but these are proscribed from the groundless fears attached to any assemblage of the people. In that category, however, rifle, or prize shooting, does not belong. Viewed in a political light, this exercise may be looked upon as an excellent provision in aid of the defence of the country; but in an economical and moral point, it is a dangerous and fatal enjoyment. This rifle practice (*Schützenwesen*) is not only an expensive pursuit, but engrosses much valuable time, and excites a kind of gambling spirit. A peasant who lost a finger on one of these occasions by the bursting of his



piece, was asked the cause of the remarkable indifference he displayed; "the loss of the finger," he replied, "is of no consequence compared to that of my stake."

It cannot be denied but that a long course of neglect has thrown innumerable difficulties in the way of reforming the condition of the peasant, and that a longer delay will create additional impediments, and probably cause such dissatisfaction, that an alarming, if not a dangerous, result will ensue.

The bye-saying, "*mit dem Volk und für das Volk*," which is equivalent to what we term "the rights of the people," is the consummation looked for and to be insisted upon under a new system. If the government were to respond to this spirit, it would with certainty escape the danger of a confederated movement; and to do so with grace, and without being driven to the measure, it has no time for delay.

Austria, unlike any of the other German states, possesses within herself an antidote to the disturbances which arise from the dependence of the people on the monied interests, and this consists in the dispersion of the masses. The misery, want, and dreadful expedients which assail a crowded population, arise from their density, their want of employment, and the avarice of the middle classes in availing themselves of the competition for work to keep wages at the lowest.

The policy of the government is to anticipate these difficulties, or otherwise it will be driven to the actual expedient of breaking up and distributing the population; and fortunately this remedy is in its hands. On the crown domains of Hungary, particularly in its southern division, there is such abundant space, that if the inhabitants of the hill country in Bohemia, and the excess of the population in Lombardy and in the southern Tyrol, were to be transplanted thither, there would be still ample room. It is thought that the adoption of this step would be most beneficial.

## THE MIDDLE CLASS.

THIS class has hitherto distinguished itself by the power of its wealth, and has been comparatively little remarkable for any display of talent or superiority of attainments. The nobility of recent creation, and those even of hereditary, but so to say, of modern extraction, being repudiated by their compeers, exclusive in their prejudices, and towering in the pride of the antiquity of their descent, are thrown on this division. To some extent it is perfectly independent of any connection with the government; and this very fact lays it open to the reproach that it has not sufficiently availed itself of its comparatively free and assured position to aid the intelligence of the public in the overthrow of base and arbitrary power; indeed, it may be said to have done nothing to advance a proper tone and spirit among the people. Its services have procured for it none of the reputation for intellect which is arrogated to itself by the nobility; and, in this respect, it is far behind the middle class of all other German states. It assumes the credit of giving its support to the arts and sciences, without having, in fact, advanced one step in proof of its sincerity. It has never occurred to it to

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further their interests by any public demonstration, and to give an impulse to popular opinion by its example. For the objects of science, it has neither money, judgment, nor spirit; but where the accumulation of wealth is concerned, it is master of its art, and can conduct the most difficult operation through all its ramifications.

It is a reproach to the government that it does not openly espouse the cause of science, and is unaware that its advancement is an incumbent duty on it, as much as its neglect is a proof that it is ignorant of its advantages. The middle class of Austria, far removed from desiring that the aristocracy of wealth, so zealously regarded by the other classes, should share in honour with the aristocracy of office, satisfies itself with occupying that position which, while it is least regarded, is most despised. And as it aims at no higher point, but remains stationary at that, which is little better than one of material existence, no account can be taken of its intellectual being, nor of its desire for improvement, but it must be looked upon as isolated and sunk in apathy. Should time and circumstance ever bring about a new system of government, the middle class, notwithstanding the power of its wealth, will be reduced to a much lower level than it now enjoys.

## THE NOBILITY.

THE preponderance which this body has acquired, and resolutely maintained since the reign of Joseph, has operated most prejudicially on the state by diverting every thing to a selfish end, even to the sacrifice of the public good. The face of the empire was troubled from the time that the aristocratical element was infused into the system. False and urgent representations were put forth as the reason for enforcing a needless restriction of freedom, the annihilation of popular opinion, and the rejection of all public claims. The nobility employed their influence in building up their own despotic power on the ruins of the public freedom, securing its permanence by appropriating to themselves the leading situations under the government, and establishing, in fact, an aristocratical bureaucracy, from which the public, with all its rights and claims, were unceremoniously excluded, until, at length, it fell into an absolute state of dependence. It is altogether inexplicable that the gradual transformation of the bureaucracy from a distinct to an aristocratical body was not noticed, manifest as it was that the exclusiveness of the appointments was leading to such a result; and when, besides, it

was obvious that the nobles exercised the greatest caution in filling up the subordinate offices from the ranks of those who were not disposed to scrutinise or oppose their views. If the bureaucracy had not been converted into dependents on the aristocracy, the restrictive order of things, so favourable to the latter, could not have been maintained; for the governing powers struggled long and fruitlessly against the unprincipled intrigue, and gathered the daily distressing experience that their own interposing and impartial exertions were not equal to arrest the disastrous consequences of a fundamentally erroneous system. This state of affairs was obvious to the public, who, unfortunately, ascribed it to a correctly-formed estimate of the political state of the country, and to an inherent right; and perceiving the submission yielded by the government to the commanding influence of the nobility, they settled down in the belief that the rights of the citizen were bound to succumb to those of the noble.

It followed, as a natural consequence, that the government lost ground in the exact proportion as the nobles gained strength; and established the fact, that the alleged preconcerted balance of interests was a mere subterfuge. But this unequal position of affairs would not, perhaps, have continued for any length of time, had the nobles not taken an undue advantage of their preponderance, and of the security they enjoyed. They

were not satisfied with entrenching themselves behind the coldness and dignity of rank, but assumed an air of exclusiveness and pride, and sought to render themselves inaccessible to approach. They rejected, with contempt, the wholesome advice of confirming their position by taking the public rights under their protection, and took their ground on what they termed their historical and inherent rights, which were proclaimed by their flatterers to be the only legitimate principle. The people shrugged their shoulders, and submitted in silence; but their execrations were loud and deep when they saw the nobles presume on what they termed their genealogical descent and prescriptive rights, to defy the laws, to trample down all natural and sacred claims, and to scoff at public opinion. But far from paying any attention to the dissatisfaction of the people, or from following a more mild and prudent course, they sought every occasion of showing their contempt and enmity; and welcomed every opportunity of exercising their usurped mastery, and of treading down the rabble (*die Kanaille*), whose services, however meritorious, were either not appreciated, or were treated with contempt; while those of the most trifling nature performed by any scion of the genealogical tree, however remote, were rewarded with the utmost favour. As a natural consequence, the plebeian candidate had to yield both his claims and his

title to precedence to his aristocratical rival, who made no scruple of advancing the most shameless and ridiculous pretensions. The system of patronage, from being carried to so unpalatable and wanton an extreme, became productive of considerable mischief; and men of sterling integrity, if they ventured on the slightest opposition to it, were treated with open contumely, and subjected to the most annoying persecutions, unless shielded by their rank and their position. Actuated by a spirit of insatiable selfishness, the nobles dealt with the state as if it only existed for them, and insisting on appropriating to themselves every advantage it presented, they murmured if their boundless and arrogant claims remained unsatisfied. They hoped to secure the mastery they had acquired on a recognised and representative basis, and to establish an aristocratical power on the ruins of feudalism, in order to obtain which they had originally made an hypocritical declaration in favour of the monarchical principle.

By these acts they have entailed upon themselves the unmitigated hatred of the people by their venal and unconcealed shuffling, by their insolent arbitrariness, by their contumelious treatment of the lower orders, and by their boundless licentiousness. The Government, deceived by them, dared not assert its independence, although it was sensible, that while they had given the most profuse and solemn pledges to defend the laws,



the throne, and the altar against all revolutionary attacks, they respected in fact none of them, and were guilty of the grossest dissimulation. It was also equally manifest to it that their pretended zeal for the imperial rights was but a mere cloak for their selfish purposes, which betrayed themselves in the wide discrepancy between their actions and professions.

The nobles had so far lost all consciousness of the existence of exalted sentiments, and of their influence on the soul of the patriot, that in their idiosyncrasy they ascribed every attack upon their order to personal enmity and malice; and essentially selfish themselves, they measured every one by the standard of their own feelings, and considering the language of truth as an avowal of hostilities, and unable to conceive that an attack upon their body might arise from a noble and disinterested endeavour to promote the public good, they reprobated the act as one of personal animosity. The shadow on the dial did not point with greater certainty to the irrevocable passage of time than did the silent progress of events to a new era; and this opinion was even entertained by men in authority. The Emperor Joseph was in advance of his age (*war zu frühzeitig gebohren*); that is, "society was not in a state to appreciate his plans of reform and benevolence, and now in an inverse ratio it is too enlightened to submit to the puerilities and restrictions of the government, and to

the (Schlich) clandestine practice of the public officials, although the hour of resistance has not yet arrived."\*

The numerical influence of the nobles, and the proportion they bear to the population, will be seen by the following table, which shows the enormous total of 356,860 in the gross population; but, as regards Hungary, the great majority of them possess only certain rights and immunities, without the slightest influence or power.

	No. of Nobles Male.	Proportion to Male Population, 1 Noble in
Bohemia - - - -	2,252	828
Moravia and Silesia - - -	1,142	855
Dalmatia - - - -	334	568
Upper Austria - - - -	1,276	353
Carynthia and Carniola - -	958	365
Styria - - - -	1,276	353
Lombardy - - - -	3,616	342
Venice - - - -	3,988	260
Coast Land - - - -	945	239
Tyrol - - - -	1,797	222
Lower Austria - - - -	4,256	152
Galicia - - - -	32,190	68
Military Frontiers - - -	833	619
Hungary - - - -	259,648	20
Transylvania - - - -	42,349	23

Thus the nobles are most numerous in Hungary, Transylvania, and Galicia, and the least so in

\* Language used by the judge of a criminal court to the author in a conversation on the subject of the criminal jurisprudence of the country.

Moravia, Bohemia, and Dalmatia, which establishes the fact that their numbers are the greatest in those provinces in which they enjoy the greatest privileges, as in Hungary and Transylvania, where they compose exclusively the Diets; as was the case in former times in Poland, where the almost countless nobles were incorporated with the state itself. In Austrian Galicia they still form one sixty-eighth part of the population, but are most numerous in the eastern half of the kingdom, the Samborer division alone containing a fourth part of them. In Lower Austria, the proportion they bear of 1 to 152 in the population arises chiefly from the capital being situated in that province, over the surface of which only 946 are spread, while 3310 are either attached to the court or are filling the public offices: so that in fact more nobles are collected in one city than are to be found in Illyria, with its area of 515 square miles.\*

Many among the Austrian nobility are not only of the most ancient descent, but of such great wealth, that they may be reckoned among the richest in Europe, particularly in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The possessions of Prince Esterhazy embrace a large proportion of Hungary, and Prince Lichtenstein owns about forty towns and villages. In other provinces, the nobles are not remarkable for their wealth.

Many of the nobility in Austria hold hereditary offices connected with high state occasions and ceremonies; some of which are of the usual character, while others, such as the cup-bearer, the sewer, the carver, the door-keeper, &c., are characteristic of olden times; and to the above may be added, as forming an essential part of the court, the Barons of the empire in Hungary, the provincial officers of Bohemia, and the Archfunctionaries of Galicia, some of each of whom are selected to take a prominent part in the councils of the empire, of which they are permanent members. Among them are two high functionaries, namely, the Palatine of Hungary and the Ban of Croatia, who are invested with considerable powers and prerogatives. The former is the representative of the king, and mediates between him and the Diet in all matters of difficulty and misunderstanding; he is president of the Septemviral Board, of the Hungarian state-council, and of the Diet; lieutenant of the united earldoms (*Grafschaften*) of Pesth, Pilis, and Solth; chief judge of Kumanen and Jayger; captain of the noble assemblies; and, in the event of the reigning family becoming extinct, summons the Diet to meet for the purpose of electing a new sovereign; and it is his peculiar privilege to bear the crown before the king at his coronation, and to assist at the ceremony.

The Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia has the whole of the civil government of these

provinces under his control; he is president of the Banat council, commandant of two frontier regiments, and lieutenant of a Croatian province, and has a seat at the Septemviral Council. He is also empowered by the king to issue writs for the election of deputies to serve in the Hungarian Diet, to settle complaints, to apportion the taxation of the country, and to decide on questions belonging to the municipal rights of the people, but without any legislative functions.

## ORDERS AND DISTINCTIONS.

AUSTRIA possesses seven orders of knighthood, of which two are confined to such as are of the blood and of noble descent, and five, one of which is for females, are bestowed for services.

The order of the Golden Fleece (*Toisonorden*) was founded in Flanders by Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, in the year 1430, to excite the virtue of his nobles, and to encourage the diffusion of the Catholic faith. Maximilian I. introduced it into the empire by his marriage with Maria, the heiress of the last Duke of Burgundy, and the peace of Baden confirmed the right to Austria. The privilege of wearing it is confined to such as profess the Romish church, being nobles of the highest blood. The decoration is a golden fleece, bearing the motto, "Pretium laborum non vile," and is worn either with a ribbon, or, on state occasions, with a golden chain. There are at present forty members of the order.

The Star-cross Order (*Sternkreuzorden*), for noble ladies, was founded in 1668 by the wife of the Emperor Leopold I. in honour of the holy cross, to commemorate the circumstance of a cross remaining uninjured in the midst of a fire which broke out in the palace. Its distinction is a golden

eagle, bearing a blue enamelled cross, in which is a golden heart, having the name of the Redeemer inscribed on it, with the words "Salus et Gloria" on a white enamelled border. In conformity with its statutes, it is only conferred on the festival-days of the finding and the raising of the cross. It is held by 836 ladies, exclusive of 25 members of reigning families.

The order of Maria Theresa was founded by that empress in 1757, after the battle of Collin. It is given without distinction of either birth or religion to general and superior officers, who have not merely behaved honorably in their military capacity, but have distinguished themselves by their councils, and in this respect it is extended to officers belonging to allied powers. Its distinction is an octagonal white enamelled cross, bearing the word "Fortitudini." Every member is compelled to swear that he will never bear arms against Austria, without having previously resigned the order. A certain number of the knights, whether grand cross or commanders, are endowed with pensions, one half of which is continued to the widow. Its members consist of 5 grand crosses, 18 commanders, and 200 knights, of whom 61 are foreigners.

The Royal Hungarian Order of St. Stephen was founded in 1764 by Maria Theresa, for nobles who distinguished themselves in the civil service of the throne, without respect to nation or religion.

The decoration is an octangular green enamelled cross, with a red shield in the centre, on which are a golden crown on a green mount, and the Hungarian apostolical cross, with the words "*Publicum meritorum præmium.*" The knights have the privilege of the *entrée*, the grand crosses are privy counsellors, and the small crosses are entitled to the free rank of baron on application. There are at present 93 grand crosses, 38 commanders, and 49 small crosses, besides 64 foreigners.

The Imperial Leopold's Order was founded by the Emperor Francis I. in 1808, as a distinction for those who should deserve well of their country and sovereign, by useful and honourable discoveries in the sciences, and by their application to the general welfare, provided that the parties bore a blameless and unimpeachable reputation. It is given, without distinction of rank, to both civilians and military. The insignia of the order are a red enamelled cross on a white ground, with a shield in the centre, bearing on the obverse the letters "*F. I. A.*," the initials of the founder, and on the reverse the device of Leopold I., "*Opes Regum corda Subditorum.*" The knights have the privilege of the *entrée*, the grand crosses have the dignity of privy councillors, and the commanders are entitled to be raised to noble rank on solicitation. The order includes about 800 members, of which nearly one-half are foreigners.



The Order of the Iron Crown was established by Francis I. in 1815, in lieu of the extinct one of 1814, but on a different principle, having, namely, the same object as that of Leopold. The decoration consists of a representation of the iron crown, surmounted by an imperial eagle, bearing in a shield on its breast the letter F. It possesses about 250 members, with the same divisions and privileges as the before-named Leopold's order.

The military order of Elizabeth Theresa was created by the Empress Elizabeth Christina, widow of Charles VI., in 1750, and re-endowed and increased in 1771 by Maria Theresa, with pensions to the amount of 16,000 florins. It is intended for twenty-one needy but deserving general officers and colonels. The distinction is a star with eight red and white enamelled points, in the middle of which is a white oval, bearing a crown with the letters E. C. and M. T., surrounded with the motto: "M. Theresa Parentis Gratiam Perennem voluit."

THE RIGHTS OF THE SOVEREIGN, AND  
FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

AUSTRIA is an hereditary monarchy, consisting of states or provinces, varying in their respective rights and prerogatives, but forming, without prejudice to them, a vast political body under one sovereign. The Emperor unites all the rights of sovereignty in his own person, and exercises them without limitation throughout the whole empire, with the exception of Hungary and Transylvania. The monarchy is thus purely arbitrary, excepting as above, where it is limited and constitutional. The person of the monarch is sacred and inviolable, and he is, humanly speaking, irresponsible for his acts. He is the fountain of all honours, privileges, and immunities; he alone summons and dissolves the states; he disposes of the resources of the country, and fixes its expenses, particularly those connected with his house and person. The command of the whole of the military powers of the empire is vested in him, together with the uncontrolled right of declaring peace or war, and the management of all foreign negotiations. With reference to the church, he directs all its outward economy; promulgating or suppressing the Papal rescripts,

bulls, and briefs, sanctioning or refusing appeals to the church at Rome, creating new bishoprics and religious establishments, appointing to vacant benefices, and restricting all hereditary claims to them.

Besides these absolute rights, which he exercises throughout his dominions, the power or veto over the acts proceeding from the separate states of Hungary and Transylvania rests with him. The constitutional assemblies of these provinces are only debating and consultative bodies, which submit their resolutions and propositions in the manner of a petition to the throne, and give effect to the regulations and decrees emanating from it: the right of local legislation and taxation is, however, unrestrictedly theirs. The nomination to all offices in these states is vested in him as king; and he either appoints to them directly, or sanctions the recommendation of the authorities. He appoints all archbishops and bishops, and confirms the election of the abbots and prelates in the different endowed monasteries and cloisters. The archbishops of Olmütz and Salzburg are alone named by their own chapters; and the latter has the prescriptive right of naming the bishops of Lavant and Seckau.

In Hungary the king enjoys the supremacy, and also the executive power, and, abstractively, all sovereign rights; for, with respect to some of the latter, he is bound to co-operate with the

members of the Diet. These latter are therefore called, for distinction sake, "*Comitial*"\* rights, in opposition to the others, which are styled reserved rights; which are, in fact, all those which are not by law included in the former. It is impossible to state these specifically, because they are nowhere given in detail or in order in the statute-books, and in the ancient fundamental laws they are not clearly defined; but it must not be imagined that the supplicatory form in which the Diet clothes its postulates throws any reserved rights on the question into the king's hands. Considering, however, that the original government of the kingdom is purely monarchical, it stands to reason that where any restrictive power of the sovereign can be clearly traced from the first settlement of the kingdom, it belongs distinctly to his reserved rights.

\* This term, with that of *Gespann*, cannot be rendered in English. Hungary is divided into districts called "*Comitatus*," equivalent in some degree to our counties, which are presided over by a *Gespann*, and his deputy or *Vicegespann*, a kind of lord-lieutenant.

## FEUDAL OBLIGATIONS.

THESE obligations are classed properly under two heads: those, namely, which belong to, and are exacted by, the State; and those which are due to the manorial lords. The former consist in the compulsory supply of relays of horses for the public service at a mere nominal remuneration, and in providing cattle and waggons for the transport of military baggage. The latter are entirely of an agrarian character, and comprehend field labor as socage, and the payment of imposts in kind and money for various denominations of fines and ground charges.

When the seigniorial rights were first instituted, the nature of the times only permitted the great landed proprietors to claim a compensation in labour and the natural produce of the soil as a rental for the land they permitted their dependents to cultivate; such labour and the produce they were enabled to raise being the only possessions of the peasants before money became sufficiently abundant to form the representative medium; and the seigneurs besides required the assistance of labour to bring their own lands into cultivation. Payments in money formed the stipulation of later contracts, when the circulation of money became

more abundant, and the seigneurs, from being able to dispense with a portion of the villeinage, commuted it for an equivalent in coin. On the discontinuance of personal servitude, it was distinctly declared that the existing laws respecting service and natural and monied imposts should not be persevered in; but compliance with the agrarian laws being nowhere compulsory, they were permitted to be adapted according to the nature of local circumstances: and thus each of the great landed proprietors interpreted them in his own way, and to serve his own purposes. The Emperor Joseph II., on introducing his new system, decreed that all the old usages of the land should cease, and be converted into a pecuniary tax: but this benevolent law was abrogated in 1790. The French dissolved the obligations between the servants of the soil and their masters in Illyria, but the Austrian government restored them in 1814; confirming thus, with few exceptions, the early seigniorial rights to imposts and personal service.

The most extensive of these obligations, and at the same time the first proof of vassalage or subjection, was in the earliest times, as it still is, the socage (*Robot*). It always occasioned the leading ground for dispute between the landlord and the peasant, until the Government found itself compelled to step in and to terminate the matter by passing a law to decide the point. This occurred generally in 1771-1778, by the introduction of

the law of *Robot*, which was subsequently enlarged and defined, and in this latter particular probably procured some protection for the peasant, if such it can be called, which fixes the maximum of the service which can be claimed by him at three days in the week, in order, as the text runs, that he may have the other three for his own immediate purposes!

The assessment on which the *Robot* is calculated varies considerably in the different provinces. In Bohemia and Moravia, it is in proportion to the amount of taxes paid; in Lower Austria it is governed by the nature of the tenure; and in Upper Austria no distinction is made, but the same duties are exacted from all. Thus it naturally follows that in some provinces the pressure is most unequal. The peasants of Upper Austria and in the Bukowina are subjected to the least degree of servitude: in the former it is generally fixed at fourteen days; and in the latter, the Moldavian Prince Ghika exacts only twelve days, and does not insist on more than six days in the year from the inhabitants on the Moldavian frontiers; but then the cottagers and lodgers are included. In Galicia, the annual total of days of exacted labor amounts to 31,248,463, of which 14,339,484 include the services of cattle and waggons.

There are many distinct descriptions of seignories in Austria, possessing each its peculiar rights and privileges; viz. the landed, the ecclesiastical, the

mining, the tithe, and others after the nature of a bailiwick. Among these the landed or manorial is the most important, from the mutual obligations which should subsist between the feoffor and the feoffee; but enough has been said almost to show the system of abuse and oppression which exists, although there are yet other imposts to be included. But, first, the *Robot* is of various kinds: for example, the plough or field labor, work on the roads, service at the manorial residence and sporting battues, manual labour, foot-work (*Fuszrobot*), as the maintenance of pathways is termed, and supply of draft cattle and relays of horses. The law of 1772 especially defines the extent of daily service to be rendered; it says: "The Robot during the long days shall consist of ten actual working hours, exclusive of a period of two hours in the middle of the day allowed for rest and refreshment, and for baiting the cattle: and during the short days, the hours of labour shall commence at daylight and continue till dark, with the allowance of the same two hours as above, and of as much time as is necessary for the parties to go to and from their homes." The mode practised, as the author witnessed in Hungary, is for the parties, whose service is due, to assemble at the earliest hour at the outskirts of the village to the number perhaps of several hundreds, where the steward of the seignior meets them, and having divided them into gangs, distributes them over the estate.



The orphan service (*Waisendienste*) is of a peculiar and remarkable nature. The seigniors who possess a legal title to exercise guardianship by vested right, that is, by descent, have a claim on the unremunerated service of orphans for three years after they attain their fourteenth year, as a recompense for the duties performed to them up to that period.

With respect to direct imposts of money and of kind levied on the occupants of the soil, the government has been giving its attention to the subject, correcting the abuses which had crept in, and fixing a standard for their assessment, in order to prevent all extortion and discretionary valuation on the part of the landlords. A commission appointed for the purpose, in Silesia, raised and defined these taxes; but in the other provinces the amount is settled by reference to the terriers, the description of produce, by contract and by custom.

The dominical dues vary in one and the same domain, and even then differ in their nature. The most usual are statute work, and ground rent (*-Grunddienst*); poundage on feoffments (*Pfundgeld*); taxes on removals; and several descriptions of terrier dues.

The former are unchangeable and uncommutable charges, which the occupants of the soil are bound to pay as an acknowledgment of fealty to the lord, or for the use of the soil. Its

amount is not defined by law, but depends mainly on agreement, or the custom of the land, and is paid chiefly in money, and occasionally, in some provinces, in kind, after the manner of small tithes. In Galicia, where the latter custom prevails; the returns show an annual contribution of 433,268 fowls, 171,989 capons, 26,655 geese, 2,081,295 eggs, 12,270 pounds of hemp, 1366 pounds of flax, 1708 quartals of tar, and 2069 pounds of honey.

The right to this charge proceeds from the nature of the emphyteutical contract existing between the lord and his tenant, and was introduced originally by the Romans, who recognised it in their law as the *laudemium minus*.

The *Pfundgeld* is a charge made on lands passing over to a new occupant, either according to the value, or the rental of the same, and is extended also to personal property. It is believed that in ancient times this transfer tax was only levied on the actual admission of the tenant; but that, by degrees, its nature became abused, until it formed a most important source of income to the lord. The increasing pressure of this burthen created loud complaints and repeated claims for relief, until the government found it necessary to interfere, and to remove all arbitrary proceedings by fixing the maximum of the charge. Should the new occupancy arise from the circumstances of living parties, the tax, being in the nature of

*livery in deed*, is called *Lehenwaare* (laudemium); but should it arise by reason of death, it is a *Sterbetaxe* (mortuarium). The claim in either of these cases, if disputed, must be substantiated by proof. As regards the former, something of the kind obtained in England in the olden times, which is described by Bracton under the name of privileged villenage, and villein-socage, and which, he says, has been held of the kings of England from the Conquest downwards; that the tenants herein "*villana faciunt servitia, sed certa et detrimenta*;" that they cannot alienate or transfer their tenements by grant or feoffment, any more than *pure villeins* can; but must surrender them to the lord or his steward, to be again granted out in villenage. With respect to the *mortuarium*, it is a charge, varying from five to ten per cent., on the real and personal property, to which the lord is intitled on the death of his villein, from the heir, after payment of the debts of the deceased.

The removal tax (*Abfahrtsgehd*) is a levy of five per cent. on the property of a peasant occupier removing from one estate to another. It was formerly levied by the magistrature on the citizens of Vienna, but has been discontinued by law; and the only other exemption is as regards the peasants in Galicia, who are allowed to migrate into Hungary and Transylvania, without prejudice.

) The landbook taxes (*Grundbuchsgebühren*) are

collected in the way of satisfaction and payment for the services of the ground landlord within his jurisdiction, and are extended also to the town and markets which are entitled to the privilege of possessing these registers. They consist of a variety of enrolments and notices, necessary to legalise certain acts, such as residence, removal, divisions of lands, occupation and purchase of the same, &c. The Landbook *per se* is also rigidly enforced as the registry of property, whether landed or household, and is in that respect a valuable record in the hands of the police, and a check against fraud, inasmuch as all mortgages to be legal must be inscribed against the property dealt with, and the entries may be examined on the payment of a fee.

One of the principal imposts on the peasant is the tithe, which is the most oppressive in the German states. It is not by any means a feudal tax, nor is the right thereto altogether confined to the manorial lord, as there are many laymen, besides the clergy, who are in receipt of the tithe. In some provinces it is a charge on the land, and in others on certain kinds of produce; but in the German provinces of the empire it comprises all species of grain and garden produce, and extends even to the fallow lands.

At the first introduction of feuds, as they were gratuitous, so also they were precarious, and held at the will of the lord, who was then the sole judge whether his vassal performed his services

faithfully; then they became certain for one or more years.\* Among the ancient Germans they continued only from year to year, an annual distribution of lands being made by their leaders in their general councils or assemblies.† This was professedly done, lest their thoughts should be diverted from war to agriculture, lest the strong should encroach upon the possessions of the weak, and lest luxury and avarice should be encouraged by the erection of permanent houses, and too curious an attention to convenience and the elegant superfluities of life. But when the general migration was pretty well over, and a peaceable possession of the newly-acquired settlements had introduced new customs and manners; when the fertility of the soil had encouraged the study of husbandry, and an affection for the spots they had cultivated began naturally to rise in the tillers; a more permanent degree of property was introduced, and feuds began now to be granted for the life of the feudatory. But still feuds were not yet hereditary, though frequently granted, by the favour of the lord, to the children of the former possessor; till in process of time it became unusual, and was therefore thought hard, to reject the heir if he were capable to perform the services; and therefore infants, women, and professed monks, who were incapable of bearing

\* Blackstone.

† Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

arms, were also incapable of succeeding to a genuine feud. But the heir, when admitted to the feud which his ancestor possessed, used generally to pay a fine or acknowledgment to the lord in horses, arms, money, and the like, for such renewal of the feud, which was called a relief, because it raised up and re-established the inheritance, or, in the words of the feudal writers, "*incertam et caducam hereditatem relevabat.*" This relief was afterwards, when the feuds became absolutely hereditary, continued on the death of the tenant, though the original foundation of it had ceased. The feudatory, however, could not alienate or dispose of his feud, neither could he exchange, nor yet mortgage, nor even devise it by will, without the consent of his lord. For, the reason of conferring the feud being the personal services of the feudatory to serve in war, it was not fit he should be at liberty to transfer this gift, either from himself or from his posterity, who were presumed to inherit his valour, to others who might prove less able. And as the feudal obligation was looked upon as reciprocal, the feudatory being entitled to the lord's protection in return for his own fealty and service, the lord therefore could no more transfer his seignory or protection without consent of his vassal, than the vassal could his feud without consent of his lord; it being unreasonable that the lord should extend his protection to a person to whom he had ex-

ceptions, and that the vassal should owe subjection to a superior not of his own choosing.

These were the principal and very simple qualities of the genuine or original feuds, which were all of a military nature, and in the hands of military persons; though the feudatories, being under frequent incapacities of cultivating and manuring their own lands, soon found it necessary to commit part of them to inferior tenants, obliging them to such returns in service, corn, cattle, or money, as might enable the chief feudatories to attend to their military duties without distraction; which returns or *reditus* were the original rents, and by these means the feudal polity was much extended: these inferior feudatories, who held what are called in Scotland "re-re fiefs," being under similar obligations of fealty, to do suit of court, to answer the stipulated rent service, and to promote the welfare of their immediate superiors or lords. But this at the same time demolished the ancient simplicity of feuds; and an inroad being once made upon their constitution, it subjected them in course of time to great varieties and innovations. Feuds began to be bought and sold, and deviations were made from the old fundamental rules of tenure and succession, which were held no longer sacred, when the feuds themselves no longer continued to be purely military. Hence these tenures began now to be divided into *feoda propria et impropria*, proper

and improper feuds ; under the former of which divisions were comprehended such, and such only, as have been before mentioned ; and under that of improper or derivative feuds were comprised all such as do not fall within the other descriptions : such, for instance, as were originally bartered and sold to the feudatory for a price ; such as were held upon base or less honourable services, or upon a rent, in lieu of military service ; such as were in themselves alienable without mutual license ; and such as might descend indifferently either to males or females. But, where a difference was not expressed in the creation, such new-created feuds did in all respects follow the nature of an original, genuine, and proper feud.

But as soon as the feudal system came to be considered in the light of a civil establishment rather than as a military plan, the ingenuity of the same ages, which perplexed all theology with the subtilty of scholastic disquisition, and bewildered philosophy in the mazes of metaphysical jargon, began also to exert its influence on this copious and fruitful subject, in pursuance of which the most refined and oppressive consequences were drawn from what originally was a plan of simplicity and liberty, equally beneficial to both lord and tenant, and prudently calculated for their mutual protection and defence. From this one foundation, in different countries of Europe, very different superstructures have been raised ; and



singular abuses have grafted themselves upon the stock, as a slight reference to one or two of the original purposes of the system, of which the present operation has been shown, will be seen. Relief was incident to every feudal tenure, by way of fine or composition with the lord for taking up the estate, which was lapsed or fallen in by the death of the last tenant. But though reliefs had their origin while feuds were only life estates, yet they continued after feuds became hereditary, and were looked upon very justly as one of the greatest grievances of tenure; especially when, at first, they were merely arbitrary, and at the will of the lord, so that if he pleased to demand an exorbitant relief, it was in effect to disinherit the heir. From this system, occasionally modified, and then suddenly reverting to its former state of oppression, grew up the *Sterbetaxe*, which was finally settled as regards the peasant on the footing above mentioned; while the power of the nobles shook off the heriotage, and their liability to service, with the payment of the knight's fee.

*Primer seisin* was a feudal burthen incident to the king's tenants *in capite*, and not to those who held of inferior or mesne lords. It was a right which the king had when any of his tenants *in capite* died seised of a knight's fee, to receive of the heir, provided he were of full age, one whole year's profits of the lands, if they were in immediate possession; and half a year's profits, if the lands

were in reversion expectant on an estate for life. This seems to be little more than an additional relief, but grounded upon this feudal reason, that by the ancient law of feuda, immediately upon the death of a vassal the superior was entitled to enter and take seisin or possession of the land, by way of protection against intruders, till the heir appeared to claim it and receive investiture, during which interval the lord was entitled to take the profits. This practice with regard to tenure under inferior lords grew in the course of time upon the system; but as to the king's tenures *in capite*, the *prima seisin* belonged to the king by prerogative, who was entitled to receive the whole profits of the land till livery was sued, which suit being commonly made within a year and a day after the death of the tenant, in pursuance of the strict feudal rule, the king used to take as an average the first fruits, that is to say, one year's profit of the land. And this afterwards gave a handle to the popes, who claimed to be feudal lords of the church, to demand in like manner from every clergyman the first year's profits of his benefice by way of *primitie*, or first fruits.

These payments were only due if the heir was of full age, but if he was under twenty-one being a male, or fourteen being a female, the lord was entitled to the wardship of the heir. This wardship consisted in having the custody of the body and lands of such heir, without any account of the

profits, till the age of twenty-one in males and sixteen in females. Thus the wardship of the land or custody of the feud was retained by the lord, that he might, out of the profits thereof, provide a fit person to supply the infant's services, till he should be of age to perform them himself.

The wardship of the body was a consequence of that of the lands, for he who enjoyed the infant's estate was the properest person to educate and maintain him in infancy. When the male heir arrived at the age of twenty-one, or the female to that of sixteen, they might sue out their livery or *ousterlemain*, that is, the delivery of their land out of their guardian's hand.

From this foundation sprung up the system of the orphan service (*Waisendienste*) as practised in the present day.

With respect to the *Abfahrts geld*, removal or alienation tax, its source is readily traced to a custom which prevailed in the ancient feudal times. It appears that one of the consequences of tenure by knight service was that fines were due to the lord for every alienation, whenever the tenant had occasion to make over his land to another. This depended on the nature of the feudal connection, it not being reasonable or allowed, that a feudatory should transfer his lord's gift to another, and substitute a new tenant to do the service in his own stead, without the consent of the lord; and as the feudal obligation was considered as reciprocal, the

lord also could not alienate his seignory without the consent of his tenant, which consent of his was called an attornment. This restraint upon the lords soon wore away ; but that of the tenants continued longer, for when, in process of time, every thing came to be bought and sold, the lords would not grant a licence to their tenant to alien, without a fine being paid ; apprehending that, if it was reasonable for the heir to pay a fine or relief on the renovation of his paternal estate, it was much more reasonable that a stranger should make the same acknowledgment on his admission to a newly-purchased feud.

The analogy between all these cases and the existing system is perfect ; and hence it is easy to trace their descent from innovation to abuse, till, by the degeneration of knight service, or personal military duty, into escuage or pecuniary assessments, all the advantages, either promised or real, of the feudal constitution were destroyed, and nothing but the hardships remained.

In England, the shadow of feudalism is still to be traced in copyhold tenures and the existence of manorial courts ; but in Scotland the substance almost remains. There the land-right is very different from the copyhold of England, and bears a strong resemblance to the *Grundbuchgericht* of Austria. Every alienation or sale of landed property in that part of the kingdom must be made in the shape of a feudal conveyance, and the party

who acquires it holds thereby an absolute and perfect right of property in the fief, while he discharges the stipulations of the vassal, and, above all, pays the feu duties. The vassal or tenant of the site of the smallest cottage holds his possession as absolutely as the proprietor, of whose large estate it is perhaps scarce a perceptible portion. By dint of excellent laws, the sasines, or deeds of delivery of such fiefs, are placed on record in such order, that every burden affecting the property can be seen for payment of a very moderate fee; so that a person proposing to lend money upon it knows exactly the nature and extent of his security.

## REVENUE AND STATISTICS.

THE difficulty of procuring any general information on these heads is so great, that, however successful the research, the acquisition is still meagre; but yet, in the following tables, there is much curious detail, and of a nature which was never laid before the Austrian people till the events which occurred in March last rendered a statement imperative, as well as prudent. The government has been averse to any publication of the kind; and when such has been permitted, and has taken place, it has been so far unsatisfactory, that no calculations nor data could be formed upon it, as the returns were always four or five years old, and had lost their value and interest. Besides the obvious jealous reluctance to enlighten the people more than was possible, the fact of an increasing expenditure exceeding the revenue, and having continued to do so for many years, sufficiently explains the policy that has been pursued of publishing only mutilated accounts, and of avoiding altogether those of an immediate date. The reduction of the army has been urged in the Aulic council as a necessary step towards retrenchment; but the political aspect of Austria rendered such a consummation impossible; and

in 1847, the public debt of the empire was augmented by a loan of eighty millions of florins, a sum which was then estimated at about one-third of the deficiency which had accumulated up to that time, and which has now been materially increased.

The following return of the revenue and expenditure of the empire was obtained by the author through a private source in 1847, and contains many details which are generally unknown, besides being more circumstantial than the official estimate published by the government in March 1848, when it was necessary to take so decisive and unusual a step, in order to restore the public confidence.

## EXPENDITURE.

<i>Public Administration of Affairs.</i>	<i>Fiscal Office.</i>	<i>District Expenses.</i>	<i>Boundary Smuggling Customs Department.</i>	<i>Finance Department.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
2,584,214	849,304	348,374	5,444,062	926,408	9,602,362
<i>Justice.</i>	<i>Political Depart.</i>	<i>Revenue Survey.</i>	<i>Roads and Canals.</i>	<i>Criminal Justice.</i>	
4,716,645	8,758,171	678,833	9,072,247	2,285,409	25,460,805
ENDOWED RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS, &c.					
<i>Religion.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Charities.</i>	<i>Vaccination.</i>	<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	
836,628	1,427,129	1,488,494	65,869	191,508	4,009,628
<i>Police Department.</i>	<i>Central Court.</i>				
2,156,677	1,399,162				3,555,839
Total -					42,628,634

# REVENUE AND STATISTICS.

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## INCOME.

DIRECT TAXES.					
	<i>Land Tax.</i>	<i>House and others.</i>			<i>Total.</i>
Austria -	18,996,432	7,985,638	}	-	26,982,070
Lombardy -	7,475,168	1,689,244			14,278,681
Venice -	5,114,269				
Hungary -	4,015,968	70,938			
Transylvania -	706,075		}	-	5,810,712
Military Frontier -	1,017,716				
	37,325,648	9,745,815			47,071,463
INDIRECT TAXES.					
	<i>Customs.</i>	<i>Excise.</i>	<i>Salt.</i>	<i>Tobacco.</i>	
Austria -	9,642,321	17,178,480	11,081,243	9,928,764	74,898,761
Lombardy and Venice -	5,158,099	5,099,826	4,705,311	2,318,541	
Hungary, &c. -	2,343,037	—	7,438,189	—	
	17,143,457	22,278,806	23,224,693	12,247,805	
	<i>Stamps.</i>	<i>Taxes.</i>	<i>Lotteries.</i>	<i>Post Office.</i>	
Austria -	8,402,708	613,153	2,065,673	1,402,962	11,678,963
Lombardy and Venice -	1,666,952	142,825	1,118,280	572,842	
Hungary, &c. -	—	133,313	417,656	143,149	
	5,069,660	888,791	3,601,559	2,118,953	
	<i>Licenses.</i>	<i>Powder &amp; Saltpetre.</i>	<i>Govt. Fabrics.</i>	<i>Miscella- neous.</i>	
Austria -	2,317,799			52,685	5,505,865
Lombardy and Venice -	335,716			575,940	
Hungary -	44,363			508,277	
	2,697,878	414,576	461,559	1,931,852	
	<i>Domains. Crown Lands.</i>	<i>Royalties Monasti- cum.</i>			
Austria -	1,872,286	888,478			4,608,088
Lombardy and Venice -	279,750	33,942			
Hungary, &c. -	2,576,725	548,088			
	4,228,761	379,327			
	<i>Per Square Mile.</i>	<i>Per Head.</i>	Total		143,758,140
Austria -	16·823	5·7			
Lombardy and Venice -	45·988	7·34			
Hungary, &c. -	3·494	1·25			
General Average -	12·379	4·1			



These amounts are stated in florins, of which, for calculation sake, ten may be estimated to the pound sterling.

To the above must be added the charges for the army, navy, and civil list, together with the interest of the funded debt, and a variety of miscellanea, as in the following schedule :—

Interest on funded debt	-	-	36,096,367
Sinking Fund	-	-	2,838,100
Diplomatic Corps	-	-	1,441,538
Secret Chancery	-	-	694,464
Imperial Court	-	-	4,806,727
Vice-Regal Court of Lombardy	-	-	816,294
Army	-	-	50,912,956
Military Pensions	-	-	870,684
Mint expenses	-	-	19,165
Loan Bank	-	-	84,716
Treasury	-	-	886,639
General railroad direction	-	-	143,078
Excise indemnities	-	-	1,192,073
Reimbursements	-	-	135,402
Reimbursement of State Lottery fund	-	-	3,719,300
Bounties	-	-	2,590,772
Council of War	-	-	411,959
Army Inspectors	-	-	127,130
Interest on floating debt	-	-	1,915,490
Chief Police and Censor Office	-	-	106,699
Extraordinary expenses	-	-	2,335,342
Senate and Court Commissions	-	-	236,223
Chancery	-	-	447,234
Chancery, Hungary	-	-	239,630
Chancery, Transylvania	-	-	81,469
Total	-	-	<u>113,149,451</u>

## IMPERIAL FAMILY.

Emperor's Privy Purse	-	-	300,000
Empress' Pin Money	-	-	50,000
Empress Mother	-	-	54,167
Archduchess Sophia's Pin Money	-	-	20,000
Archduke Franz Carl Appanage	-	-	50,000
Archduke Stephen Palatine	-	-	128,967
Archduke John Appanage	-	-	24,000
Archduke Ludwig Appanage	-	-	24,000
			<hr/>
			651,134
Secret Cabinet	-	-	98,033
Orders :—			
Personal distinctions	-	-	15,807
Pensions of Maria Theresa order	-	-	17,808
Knights of Iron Crown	-	-	26,115
Sundry miscellanea	-	-	4,004
Archer's Guard	-	-	118,620
Hungarian Guard	-	-	116,000
Italian Guard	-	-	205,752
Trabant Guard	-	-	83,388
Palace Guard	-	-	94,077
Officers of the Palace	}	-	1,238,595
Pensions, grants, &c.			
High Chamberlain	}	-	1,507,935
High Marshall			
Master of the Horse			
Wood, Medicine, &c.	-	-	94,854
Palace Theatre	-	-	49,987
Kärntner Thor Theatre	-	-	74,641
Theatrical pensions	-	-	23,412
Miscellanea	-	-	18,883
Expenses incurred by visits of Foreign			
Princes	-	-	14,935
Presburg Diet	-	-	22,309

Travelling expenses of the Court	-	213,787
Miscellanea - - -	-	16,611
		<hr/>
		4,706,687

Pay of Minister (Prince Metternich),		
Court and State Chancellor	-	101,000
State Councillors - - -	-	11,000
Privy Councillors - - -	-	31,800
Councillors of Finance - - -	-	15,900
Court Secretary - - -	-	11,200
Court Reporter - - -	-	7,000
Extraordinary Services - - -	-	31,000
State Interpreter - - -	-	4,800
Keeper of Registries - - -	-	23,920
Keeper of Archives - - -	-	13,110
Court and Cabinet Couriers - - -	-	4,800
Miscellanea - - -	-	4,020
Officials and Pensions - - -	-	83,788
		<hr/>
		343,338

Consuls - - -	-	200,000
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**Ambassadors:—**

To England	-	110,000
France	-	90,000
Rome -	-	60,000
Russia	-	100,000
Turkey	-	40,000
Prussia	-	24,000
Saxony	-	14,000
Sweden	-	19,000
Sicily -	-	24,000
Spain	-	36,000
Switzerland	-	17,000

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534,000

Total Income	-	-	-	143,758,140
Total Expenditure	-	-	-	161,562,160
Deficiency	-	-	-	17,804,020
Total debt of Austria, 1841			-	1,157,450,425
"      "      1842			-	1,187,471,794

to which additions have been made, but the amounts cannot be ascertained.

Among the various items enumerated as forming one of the sources of the revenue of the empire, that of the lotteries stands conspicuous, and affords a lamentable instance of the vices and errors of the Austrian legislature. Gambling on the square, fatal as it is, is not half so pernicious, from the comparative few who are engaged in it, as this wholesale system of demoralisation, encouraged in every possible way by the government. To the poorer classes, the temptation of enriching themselves by a lucky chance is irresistible, and abuse of trust and other crimes are resorted to, to obtain the means. The system of the lottery is precisely similar to that which was pursued in France, but carried to a far greater extent than was ever known in that country; the number of drawings in the year throughout the empire being not less than 450! and as the smallness of the amount which may be staked is not limited, for it may be as low as twopence, it is evidently intended to catch the lowest of the population by its allurements. This, and the

giant monopolies of salt and tobacco, with the encouragement they give to fraud and smuggling, together with the intellectual restrictions imposed by the censorship of the press, and the jealous fears of the government, and, not least, the evils worked on the social system by the prohibitory regulations of marriage, deaden the feelings of moral rectitude, and stifle those of shame.

In numerical population, Austria stands second among the nations of Europe, but in the financial scale, she cannot maintain her rank. Her population may be estimated at thirty-nine millions of souls, while her revenue does not amount to fifteen millions of pounds; and that, when calculated by the square mile and per head, is, perhaps, the severest commentary on her system which can be adduced.

Dividing the empire into three distinct portions, as has been done above, the average of 12,379 florins per square geographical mile, or of four florins per head revenue there shown, is not indicative of financial prosperity. Becker, in his statistical work on Austria, which is, however, but a mere tabular statement, makes the following remark, showing thereby how completely ignorant all classes must be of the fiscal and financial position of the country, and how little disposed the government is to put such information into the hands of the people. He says: "In order to give such valuable information

the greatest and most deserving publicity, and because *no official statements had appeared in print, from their having been kept back by the Minister of Finance*, it was permitted me to embody the result of the statements from 1831 to 1841 in a tabular shape, and in the most comprehensive manner."

The statements are singular, and almost justify the reluctance there has been to publish them; for they exhibit one of three things, either the amount of misery and poverty in the country, the extent of smuggling carried on, or the effects of high import duties. The three leading articles are sugar, coffee, and tobacco. On the former the duty is 7.30 fl. per cwt.; and when compared with the other states of Europe, the consumption in Austria, including the article manufactured from beet-root, holds the lowest rank. In some countries the consumption averages 2 lbs. per head on the gross population; and in others, as in England, it amounts to 5 lbs.; but in Austria it only reaches 1½ lbs., and in 1842 it fell even below that mark. With regard to coffee, which enters so largely into the domestic economy of all Germany, constituting the breakfast universally, and being partaken of besides frequently in the day as the only unfermented liquid in use, the returns draw down a comment from Mr. Becker, who says, with reference to them, "that they are far beneath even the probable consumption, to

raise which to 1 lb. per head, 370,000 cwts. more are required annually." It appears that from the years 1831 to 1841 the importations, or rather the certified entries, amounted to 92,974 cwts. annually, that in 1841 they increased to 115,826 cwts., and in 1842 to 123,764 cwts., which is, in fact, not more than one third of a pound per head; and that the duty received in that latter year amounted to 2,596,062 florins, or less than 260,000*l.*, at the rate of 12·30 florins, per cwt.

Under the head of tobacco, which is a strict monopoly in the hands of the government, no small benefit is derived, but from the heavy duty to which it is subject, the temptation for smuggling is so great, that the revenue is defrauded to an unknown extent. Besides the actual duty of 25 kreutzers (9*d.*) per pound, there is an additional charge of 2 florins (4*s.*) per pound for the license to sell it. As the estimated consumption of tobacco in the Zollverein states amounts to 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. per head, it would require 99 millions of lbs. for Austria in the same proportion; but as besides the annual exports average about 53,000 cwts., it would appear that 105 millions of lbs. are required yearly in Austria, which is far above the returns, and proves the great extent of the contraband system, particularly from Hungary, where the plant is cultivated to an immense extent, and where it is entirely free

of duty. The yearly production there is estimated at about 300,000 cwts., of which 60,000 are consumed in the kingdom itself, 150,000 pass to the imperial manufactories of Austria, and 40,000 are exported, leaving a considerable balance in favour of contrabandism.

Hungarian tobacco was, in later years, strictly prohibited in Vienna: nevertheless, almost every one smoked it. The difficulty of evading the Custom-house officers was one day the subject of conversation between the late Empress and Prince Esterhazy, who offered, for a high wager, to bring into Vienna a certain quantity of the tobacco, and to give notice when he should arrive. The Empress caused an order to be issued that the carriage should be stopped at the barriers, and every part searched. He arrived at night, attended by outriders with lighted flambeaux. Her orders were strictly obeyed; almost every part of the carriage was cut to pieces, but no tobacco found. He drove immediately to the imperial palace, and produced the tobacco to the Empress. The flambeaux had been constructed with a hollow space, into which tobacco had been put, the end only being a flambeau, and the sides merely covered with wax.

As regards wool and silk, the returns on these articles of produce are far in arrear; but such as were procurable will aid in forming some judgment on their importance.



## WOOL.

		Exported.			Imported.
1840	-	142,081	-	-	46,060 cwt.
1841	-	167,190	-	-	36,156 „
1842	-	118,240	-	-	52,064 „

Exported wool pays double the duty of that imported. The quantity of woollen manufactures bears no proportion to the consumption, and the probability of a market for their sale, and therefore a greater development of this branch of national industry is much required.

## RAW SILK.

			Exported.
1840	-	-	14,562 cwt.
1841	-	-	17,372 „
1842	-	-	17,564 „

## COTTON.

## IMPORTED.

		Cwt.		Value in Florins.		Duty in Florins.
1840	-	302,694	-	9,841,788	-	504,489
1841	-	248,121	-	7,939,872	-	425,981
1842	-	321,377	-	10,284,064	-	535,628

The whole of this is manufactured in Austria, excepting an average of 1155 cwt., re-exported.

The Austrian empire possesses the most extensive salt-mines in Europe; but the produce is so heavily taxed, creating a revenue of more than 23 millions of florins, or 2,300,000*l.*, that the consumption, including the quantity exported, amounts to only 4½ millions of cwts. With reference to this article as a natural produce, Austria

holds the first rank ; in population it is second ; in its consumption third ; and in the exportation of its produce by sea it is sixth among the states of Europe. Among these states, three only, England, Wallachia, and Austria, are entirely independent of the sea as the means of manufacturing salt, and yet, as regards their trade in that article, and their consumption in proportion to their population, they take rank as follows : — England, Spain, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, France, Sardinia, the Papal States, Wallachia, Greece, and Austria. The exportation alone of England in 1845, amounted to 14,319,482 bushels. For the protection of these monopolies, and for the general custom-house cordon for the prevention of smuggling over the frontiers and into the various towns, the expenses of the government exceed 540,000*l.*, — an amazing sum, considering the smallness of the pay of the men, and with reference to the income derived.

According to the latest census, the Austrian empire contains a population of about 39 millions of souls, but, great as is the amount, it is, as with Russia, small when calculated on the extent of territory it covers on the map of Europe, giving an average, in fact, of not more than 3250 inhabitants to the square geographical mile. The yearly increase of the population is  $1\frac{1}{10}$  per cent., or about 188,000, which is only 5000 more than that of England and Wales, with a population of 18 millions on a

surface of 794 square geographical miles, at the rate of 22,544 inhabitants in each.

The population of Vienna in 1846 amounted to 410,047 souls, on which there were 19,757 births and 17,132 deaths, leaving an increase of 2625 births, or rather more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the population. Whether from local causes, or from the keen winds which prevail in the valley of the Danube, aided, perhaps, in some degree by the habits of the people, the mortality arising from certain diseases, particularly those affecting the organs of respiration, is excessive. In 1846 there died of —

Diseases of the lungs	-	-	-	4,148
Consumption	-	-	-	2,771
And of typhus, nervous, and hectic fevers				1,067
Water on and diseases of the brain			-	1,666

Respecting the average of life throughout the empire, the tables of mortality give the following calculation: —

				Or in 10,000.
Deaths between birth and 1st year	-	206,407		3,024
„ 1st „ 4th		87,690		1,284
„ 4th „ 20th		70,644		1,035
„ 20th „ 40th		83,096		1,217
„ 40th „ 60th		102,794		1,506
„ 60th „ 80th		109,128		1,599
„ 80th „ 100th		22,305		327
„ 100th upwards		555		8

The climate of Austria is extremely unequal, and is subject to sudden changes of heat and cold,

particularly in the districts bordering on the high mountain-ranges which bound and intersect the empire; and this is one of the causes which so materially affects the capital. The level of Vienna is 530 feet above that of the sea, and the average extremes of temperature to which it is subject during the periods of winter and summer are  $0^{\circ} 14'$ , and  $16^{\circ} 28'$  of Reaumur; and the prevailing winds, as registered for a period of 1000 days, are the south and south-east, and west and north-west, the two former blowing for 311, and the two latter for 535, days. The dry days as against the wet are as 220 to 145, and the depth of rain that falls is about 16 inches.

Situated between the 42d and 51st degrees of north latitude, Austria occupies one of the most favoured positions of the European continent, lying almost equidistant from the torrid and the frigid zones, and exempt both from the burning heat of the one and the benumbing cold of the other. The seasons are uniform, and, like those of human life, though stamped with their different vicissitudes, glide imperceptibly and without violence into one another. Hurricanes and tempests are of seldom occurrence, and it is only on the coasts of the Adriatic, particularly in winter and in autumn, that the frightful Bora, a fierce and dry north-east wind, is felt, lashing the sea into instant and violent tumult, prostrating trees, devastating the land, and overthrowing even loaded waggon in its

fury. In the same district, as well as in Italy, and in the southern parts of the Tyrol, the enervating Sirocco, a south-east wind, occasionally prevails, oppressing man and beast by its scorching breath. The surface of the Garda Lake is, perhaps, the only spot within the dominions which is notorious for the violence of its storms.

With reference to vegetation, the influence of the climate is manifest in the variety of the produce, which is further diversified by peculiarities of soil and locality. In the southern parts of the empire, the olive, the lemon, the pomegranate, and the fig flourish in the naked soil; and in Dalmatia the date-palm, the oleander, the lotus, and aloe grow wild. The lower parts of Hungary yield rice, excellent wines, melons, chestnuts, and tobacco; while the Banat territory, containing an area of enormous extent, fattened by the periodical overflowings of the Danube, as the plains of Egypt are by the Nile, is inexhaustible in its fertility, and would form the great granary of Europe, if the spirit of enterprize could be infused into its inhabitants, and the means of transport afforded by the construction of roads; an advantage not likely to be obtained, from the total absence of all materials for the purpose, the country exhibiting one boundless plain of black soil composed of organic remains and the deposits of the waters of the Danube, without a stone to break the surface.

In the mineral kingdom Nature has lavished her

treasures upon Austria with a liberal hand. With the single exception, perhaps, of platinum, all the precious as well as the base metals are within her bosom. Iron abounds in Styria and Carylthia, lead in the latter province, quicksilver in Idria, gold in Kremnitz and Transylvania, tin and garnets in Bohemia, and coals in various districts, besides the boundless mines of salt in Galicia, Hungary, and Salzburg.

In the kingdom of Hungary, considering even the inefficiency of the income, the rudeness of the machinery, and the absence of persevering enterprise, the yearly produce of the different mines gives —

		Public.	Private.
Gold	-	1,097	1,394 Marks.
Silver	-	27,669	37,728 "
Copper	-	4,986	31,810 Centners.
Lead	-	15,428	10,450 "
Iron	-	133,819	226,736 "
Coals	-	20,175	342,071 "
Cobalt	-	—	1,752 "
Antimony	-	1,041	3,076 "
Value in florins		<u>2,270,739</u>	<u>4,215,225</u>

In Styria: —

Iron	-	238,853	450,611 Centners.
Coals	-	<u>24,716</u>	<u>507,154</u> "
Value in florins		<u>953,688</u>	<u>1,803,187</u>

Vienna, as a centre, has her lines of railroad to

Prague, Cracow, Presburg, and Trieste (a portion of the latter is not completed), and a line opened as far as Verona on one side, and to Treviglio on the other, is in progress from Venice to Milan; but the useless formalities of the police, the constant inquisition of the custom-house officers, and restrictions interposed by the government, neutralise the incalculable benefit which might be derived, and deaden the elasticity which would otherwise be given to the resources of the country. The distance from Vienna to Prague is 180 miles, and the mail train occupies twenty-one hours in the transit! But perhaps no greater proof can be given of the puerility of some of the forms observed by the police than in the following instance. The author was put into a mail carriage at Trieste with two other travellers, on their way to Vienna; but, it being an extra mail, there was no *conducteur*, or guard: and the bags, being locked up in the hind boot, proceeded, under the charge of the postboys, from stage to stage. The absence of this official caused some conversation to arise as to the passports, which had been taken by the police at Trieste, with the assurance, that they would be forthcoming at the proper time and place; but, considering the importance of these papers, there was a little feeling of uneasiness, and at last, as the boot would not be opened till the carriage reached Vienna, it was concluded that the passports were

placed elsewhere, and a search of the carriage took place, when they were found stowed away in a pocket. Thus three men, whose safety depended on their passports, were not allowed the custody of them, merely that an useless form of keeping them in a kind of surveillance, by leaving them unprotected, should be observed. To complete the absurdity, the author was refused admission into the refreshment-room at the railway station at Grätz by the police, till he showed the identical passport at the door.



## THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

A FREE country can scarcely understand the nice distinction assumed by an arbitrary power, in styling itself a paternal government. It knows that in the early ages, when oppression and violence spread terror and confusion around, and before laws provided for the security of society, that some master spirit or more daring tyrant stood forth and claimed peremptory power and feudal service, for the protection he afforded: but it traces with difficulty the course of events which led to the formation of the more extended powers, and to the union of the population in its more social state, though still subservient to the same yoke, with the additional aggravation of moral bondage. While some nations, burning under the accumulation of wrongs, and of the restrictions heaped upon them, have successfully aroused themselves, and claimed the enjoyment of civil rights, and the exemption from all interference with their industry and domestic intercourse; others, equally sensible of their bonds, and of the puerilities of their governments, have been satisfied with remaining far distanced in the race of civilisation, and in the intellectual spirit of the age, and, continuing in their apathy, returned to

their social servitude as soon as the storm, which had shaken their governments to their foundations, and laid them prostrate at the feet of their conqueror, had passed away.

Prominent among such stands Austria, which has still to effect in the nineteenth century that which England had already accomplished in the thirteenth. Her narrow policy, which shackled her commanders, and entailed defeat after defeat upon her armies, has wrought no conviction in her councils; the recollection of reverses has removed no jealousies; experience has enlightened no system; and the example set by other nations in their social progress has had no weight.

Composed of the most heterogeneous elements, the Austrian empire is without a parallel; radiating from one common centre, the different states of which it is composed acknowledge its dominion, but claim an immunity of rights and privileges, peculiar to their constitutions, which they guard with jealous determination. Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Galicia, Illyria, the Tyrol, the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice, and the Military frontiers, have each their peculiarities. The bond which unites them to the parent state, with the exception, perhaps, of the Tyrol, is not one of affection, and hence they are watched with the vigilance of distrust. The first feeling of uneasiness occasioned to the government arose in a

quarter which was apparently the least to be dreaded, as bigotry, antiquated notions, and mental bondage had been its characteristics for centuries, and had formed an excellent frontier in a moral point of view; but a new era suddenly began, and an enlightened policy, originating from and introduced by the Pope himself into his states, gave an expansion to public opinion, and caused the people to institute comparisons which were not favourable to the Austrian rule. And as if these had not been sufficient to excite public attention, and to raise expectations, which must eventually be fulfilled, the movement made by Prussia in 1846, teeming with prospective results, and indicative of great events, raised a feeling of curiosity and inquiry in the Austrian empire, which was highly significative of the pulse of the people.

The forms of constitutional government and the authority of popular assemblies are no unsubstantial theories in Germany, for throughout the middle ages they were as fully established in all the provinces which now constitute the Prussian monarchy as in any other part of Europe. It was not till 1654 that the Diet of Brandenburg was extinguished by the great elector, in spite of his pledge solemnly given in the preceding year, that "In all weighty matters he would undertake nothing without the foreknowledge of the estates, and contract no alliance without their counsel and

consent, &c." In Prussia proper, in Silesia, and Pomerania (then under different governments), the same change was effected about the same time. Absolute power is hardly two centuries old in Germany. The thirty years' war and the peace of Munster swallowed up the constitutional liberties of the land, and crushed that spirit in which the estates of Silesia had declared, in 1619, "that, to bring them into servitude, and under absolute Spanish dominion, was abhorrent to all the nations of Christendom, without distinction of religion." At the Congress of Vienna, Prussia was foremost in maintaining that the revival of these constitutional forms of government throughout the German confederation was essential and indispensable to the welfare of that body, and she insisted, by her declaration of September 13th, 1814, that the *minimum* of power to be attributed to these Diets was to include a distinct participation in legislation, the voting of taxes, and the defence of the constitution. Prophetic as was this declaration, years were destined to elapse before its fulfilment; and in the meantime the principle of "*sic vos non vobis*" was maintained throughout the German states.

In Austria, up to this period, the arm of government, however ubiquitous, was hardly, if ever, perceptible; it walked in mystery, and its agency was as much dreaded as though it had been paraded publicly. The entire silence on

political, and the suppression of local, information; the severity of the censorship, and the influence of the priesthood; the surveillance and interference of the police, and the fear of innovations, almost amounting to the prohibition of improvements in industry, were the chains by which the people were bound to their yoke. Statistical information, the record of the nerves and sinews of the empire, was published in so mutilated and garbled a style that it was almost worthless, and, as if even to prevent the least benefit from arising from it, it was generally five years in arrear. At the date of 1847 the statement of 1842 had not been made public, but the particulars connected with it, and contained in the foregoing pages, were supplied from an undoubted source, and embrace details which were never permitted to the public eye.

A system of government, which affects society only in a political sense, and compels it to stand still and almost to retrograde as compared with other nations, however erroneous in its judgment and culpable in the discharge of its duties, is guiltless in a measure when contrasted with the violence of despotism, whose jealousy of power represses all individual exertion, crushes the energy of the human intellect, and keeps whole masses subservient to the will and interest of one man. Such is not altogether Austria; but she has a heavy and responsible account to render for

crimes, which, in her mistaken and narrow policy, she is guilty of, and for the restrictions on the industry and energies of her people, for which she is answerable, withholding even the natural riches of the country, or preventing the beneficial application of them. Great as are the errors of the commercial policy which press so heavily on the resources of the country and paralyse the industry of the people, yet it is not to them alone that the evils which gnaw on the vitals of the country are altogether attributable. An anomaly is attempted to be reconciled, and a moral problem to be worked out. The cares of the government for the education of the people are comprehensive and diffused, and it is consequently rare to find a person who does not understand the first elements of reading and writing; but religious instruction, beyond blind obedience to the priesthood, and to the tenets of the church in the full bigotry of Romanism, is not urged,—moral obligations and virtues forming no ingredients in it. The annual expenditure of the state for this purpose is about 220,000*l*. The regulations respecting marriage are of the most restrictive nature, being, in fact, prohibitory where, on the preliminary application to the magistrate for his certificate, and without which no priest can officiate, he is not satisfied of the means of the parties to maintain themselves. A premium is thus offered to crime and immorality, and a fatal check given to the feelings

of virtue and the habits of industry ; the best attributes of nature are blunted, and the solaces of affection and domestic happiness take no root in the heart. The laxity of virtue, which is the fruit of this interference with the social state of the people, brings no disgrace in its train ; and the state suffers in a moral view from the spirit of selfishness and apathy which is engendered, and in a commercial one, from the absence of the high exciting causes of striving industry and honest labour which are the consequences.

By the last returns, the foundling-hospital in Vienna received in the course of that year 5755 children, and 15,351 were out at nurse in the country, at the cost of 348,644 florins: there being, besides, in the whole of Austria, thirty-four foundling-hospitals, containing 22,409 children, at an expense of 230,051 florins, and 50,460 out at nurse, at the cost of 1,226,474 florins. The lying-in-hospitals, which are open indiscriminately, and without restriction, are thus summed up:—in that at Vienna, the births average annually 6024, costing to the state 38,573 florins: and in the other states (not including Hungary), where there are thirty-four institutions, the births average 12,458, at the cost of 107,252 florins. In more minute statistical details, the returns for some few years past are not accessible; but the following table exhibits those of 1830, and, great as is the depravity there

visible, there is every reason to be assured that there has been no amendment; and yet, with such monstrous facts intruding themselves on its notice, the government sees no motive for altering its policy, nor for endeavouring to encourage a higher moral spirit in the social system.

*Proportion of Illegitimate to Legitimate Births.*

Upper Austria	-	-	-	1 in 6
Lower Austria	-	-	-	1 — 7
Bohemia	-	-	-	1 — 7
Carynthia	-	-	-	3 — 3
Galicia	-	-	-	1 — 14
Moravia	-	-	-	1 — 8
Carniola	-	-	-	1 — 16
Lombardy	-	-	-	1 — 24
Venice	-	-	-	1 — 2

And in the following cities the births in seven years were: —

	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
Vienna	56,394	44,773
Linz	3,550	2,392
Grätz	5,441	7,406
Laibach	2,319	1,107
Trieste and district	15,835	4,516
Innsbruck	1,663	436
Prague	17,938	12,371
Brünn	7,514	4,145
Lemberg	11,077	7,685
Zara	2,328	594
Milan	32,096	11,370
Venice	21,889	3,774

Or as 10 to 17.



The total number of births in Austria are 945,693 annually, of which 89,190 are illegitimate.

It is appalling to think of the amount of human misery contained in these figures; how many wretched beings, neglected by their parents and left in utter heartlessness to the care of the state and the tender mercies of its agents, are thrown friendless on the world, knowing no ties, estranged from all connection and domestic happiness, the kindly affections of youth dried up, and the world a blank before them. The plea that the state provides for them, and that poverty, by the unrestricted privilege of marriage, is not propagated in the land, is a miserable sophistry: it destroys a virtue and affiliates a crime.

As regards the population generally, there are several causes which operate upon it, and which, by giving the direction to its conduct, establish the national character. These are the censorship of the press, the police, and the priesthood, and by them the mind, kept in leading-strings, is incapable of expansion; and, being shut out from those resources which would aid its cultivation, it is thrown back upon itself, — a dry and sterile ground. Regulations the most puerile, or restrictions the most stringent, throw their meshes over society, and confirm both the moral and the physical bondage. The sensation is certainly not one of terror, as in Russia; but still there is a kind of vague uncertainty, a mysterious weight, which, incubus-

like refuses to be shaken off, and one feels that an unseen power pervades the social atmosphere. If the police were to occupy itself with prevention of wrong and the management of public decorum and order, it would be useful and respected; but, jealous of the slightest attempt at free action, it interferes universally, and arrogates to itself a supreme direction. A stranger on arriving expects to fill up the usual formula required by the police, but he is rather surprised at the inquisitorial statement he has to answer, — his religion, namely, whether single, married, or widowed, the object of his journey, to whom he is referred, whether he has acquaintances, and is furnished with a letter of credit, how long he proposes to stay, &c. He, however, has the privilege of leaving when he pleases; but not so a native, who cannot pass to another part of the empire without undergoing the most rigid examination when he applies for a passport, and then, perhaps, having it refused. A medical acquaintance of the author's, wishing to leave Vienna to settle at Milan, was placed in this position, and only overcame the obstacle by the exertion of interest. Then, as regards residence, no inhabitant can change his dwelling or lodging without notifying the same to the police; and if he wishes to insert a notice or advertisement in the newspaper, it must be submitted to them. The machinery of the police establishment is immense, embracing in it the greatest

variety of departments: these are the executive, the passport and residence, the roads, the buildings, the carriage, the town districts, &c., each of which is presided over by a Hofrath, or councillor, through whose burcaus business crawls with such tedious steps that private energy would be discouraged by the obstruction, were that virtue known. The proprietors of the Diana Bad, the largest bathing establishment in Vienna, caused some omnibuses to be built for the conveyance of people from the different parts of the town to the bath, and applied, as was necessary, for permission to run them, and, simple as the case was, it was not obtained for a matter of six weeks. Desiring to visit the prisons, the author waited on one of the chiefs for an order, but, it not being in his department, he sent him to another, and from him he went to a third, and so on till he had been to five people, not one of whom knew the right party who possessed the authority. There is, besides, a separate establishment for the secret police, which, by its spies, pervades every part of the country. Its ubiquity is felt and dreaded, and when a stranger ventures on a more candid remark than an Austrian would dare to give utterance to, it is amusing to see the stolen looks thrown round the room as if to ascertain that there is no danger in being a listener. The police force consists of a corps of 1200 men and of 50 horsemen. Of the former about one third is on duty at a time, each

man occupying a fixed and unmoveable station, and of the latter a few patrol the streets with their drawn swords. In addition to this force, the city has numerous guard-houses interspersed about it, as well as at each of its gates, and the men are provided with loaded arms, and have the assistance of a couple of cavalry soldiers to carry reports should any alarm break out. The men are paid at the rate of eight kreutzers a day (not threepence), and are selected from the different regiments. The lighting and paving of the city is under the control of the magistrature, who also put on the night watch, which communicates with each other by three smart blows struck on the pavement with an iron-shod stick, and which, in the stillness of the night, are heard at a great distance. The garrison of Vienna is not under 17,000 men, of whom 2000 are artillery, and as many cavalry. The late military governor, the Archduke Albert, son of the late Archduke Carl, ventured some time since on an exertion of authority which created strong indignation, but without shaking the subjection of the people. It is difficult to affix a proper motive to that act,—whether he placed an unlimited confidence on the state of subjection, or felt that he could enforce it by the power he possessed; or whether, as a branch of a family unequalled in Europe for pride and arbitrary spirit, he looked upon his fellow men as an American planter on his slaves. Smoking in the

streets, though forbidden, is, or rather was tolerated, and the order was considered dormant: but the Archduke directed that the sentinels should fire on people whom they saw smoking, and thus several people were literally killed. It is said that he was reprimanded for his severity, but he continued to hold his post, and smoking is continued to an excess which is peculiarly Austrian. People are supposed not to smoke in passing a sentry, and a notice is affixed on all the bridges that no one may smoke in passing over them, as they are of wood, and danger is apprehended.

This habit of smoking is carried beyond all bounds; the coachman on his box, the labourer with his wheelbarrow, and the shopkeeper idling at his door, cling to their pipes; the air of the rooms is infected, and as soon as the dinner is swallowed, a cigar crowns the repast. In the cafés, the fog of smoke<sup>h</sup> throws a haze around, which the eye can scarcely penetrate; — and, as one evil habit engenders another quite as offensive, every room in every house is furnished with a spittoon. The system of spitting in all classes and with both sexes is at variance with every feeling of taste and refinement; but the Austrian is most sober and temperate in his habits. In some parts of Germany, *das saufen* is proverbial; but here it is extremely rare to meet a drunken person, although the means are both cheap and abundant. Beer is being introduced very ex-

tensively, but the taste is not so generally formed as to make it a prominent beverage.

The Austrian is early in his habits, and the regulations of the places of amusement are entirely in conformity with them. The theatres, commencing at seven, are closed by ten o'clock, and the streets, in which the shops are shut at the former hour, are at once silent and deserted. He rises early, and it is not unusual for appointments on business to be made for eight o'clock, when one is ushered into the party's bed-room, if he be a bachelor, where he is walking about in a robe-de-chambre, sipping a cup of coffee with a little roll, which is the only breakfast he takes till towards noon, when he has something more solid. The discomfort of that breakfast, and the absence of the family union and of the cheerful commencement of the day which characterise the English meal, are with difficulty reconciled even by the least fastidious of us. There is, besides, a want of delicacy and *convenance* in the manner in which people intrude into your room at an early hour. A priest will come in and beg for charity, or a tradesman will enter while you are in the most complete negligé, without attaching any idea of offence to the act. They are sure of finding you, and that is sufficient justification. But the Germans generally are little troubled with ideas of ceremony or refinement; and are, besides, on such good terms with themselves, that they are

indifferent as to remarks or the concerns of others. Their manners at table are gross : the mode of handling the fork, the substitution of the knife in conveying food to the mouth (for the fork is chiefly used in holding the meat while it is being cut), and the system of using two or three plates at a time, are offensive. At the reading-room a person sweeps from the table all the papers he proposes reading, and appropriates them to the exclusion of other comers. Thus visitors have been forced to leave without a prospect of satisfying their wishes, because a man is reading the *Times* with a dictionary—and this being the only English newspaper there, the disappointment can be imagined. These remarks affect the bourgeoisie principally, for, in the higher classes, there is naturally more refinement, although, in outward display, there is room for considerable improvement. The dismemberment of Germany into so many and numerous states accounts readily for the fact of there being no point of centralisation, no capital like London or Paris, to give the tone to society ; and hence that prevailing influence is but little felt, and the empire of fashion and the arm of ridicule, in themselves mighty weapons, fall powerless.

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## VIENNA AND THE VIENNESE.

THE city of Vienna is situated about three miles from the main stream of the Danube, of which a small arm, affording but very limited means of navigation, passes through a portion of the Leopoldstadt suburb. The Wien, a paltry dirty rivulet, from which the city takes its name, flows through the suburb called the Wiener Vorstadt, and loses itself in the said arm of the Danube. The city itself is of limited extent, surrounded by walls of imposing height, *Basteien* as they are called, beneath which is a dry fosse, laid down with grass, and planted with avenues of poplars, through which a carriage drive forms a complete circuit. Beyond is the glacis, an open green space of several acres across, intersected by numerous walks and avenues leading to the suburbs, and crossed by the great entrances to the city. It once formed the outworks of the fortifications, of which nothing now remains but the city wall; a portion is set apart for the exercising-ground of the immense garrison always maintained in the capital. Around this open belt are the suburbs, thirty-four in number, and far more populous than the parent city; they are the



residence of the middle classes, the bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, the tradespeople, and the lower classes, besides containing many of the public establishments and institutions. The Basteien are kept in scrupulous order, and, being mostly planted with trees, form an agreeable walk, which is much frequented in the spring of the year, when the fresh foliage of the avenues on the glacis, loaded with the blossoms of the horse chesnut and acacia, add considerably to the view beneath, which is bounded in the distance by a bold and undulating line of hills. Twelve principal gates pass under the Basteien into the city, but they are dark tunnel-like passages, without any attempt at external decoration; and one, the chief and most crowded of them, leads directly under and through the imperial palace. The circumference of the city does not exceed three miles, as the Basteien may be traversed by a good walker in three quarters of an hour; and from the cathedral of St. Stephen, which is nearly central, any gate may be reached in ten minutes. There is no regularity in the distribution of the streets, which are mostly narrow, often mere lanes, and but seldom relieved by an open unincumbered space: some few of limited extent do exist; but they are blocked up in the centre by some ungainly object intended for a public fountain, around which groups of market women are scattered, covering the pavement with vegetables and stacks

of horse-radish. The pavement of the streets is unexceptionably perfect,—so even and true, that it is an universal trottoir, the part appropriated to foot passengers being more imaginary or conceded than real, for there is no distinction; and in cleanliness it may challenge competition with the whole world. Scores of persons are distributed throughout the streets on the least inconvenience from either snow or rain, and every impurity is instantly removed; and as the public traffic is entirely confined to light vehicles and to public and private carriages, there is nothing either to wear the surface or to encumber it with mud. The houses are all large massive edifices, some of them almost of fabulous extent, and containing no inconsiderable portion of the population. Within the walls there are not 1200 houses, so vast a space do they occupy. The principal thoroughfare, the Kohlmarkt, which is far from containing those of the largest size, does not consist of twenty. They are mostly hollow quadrangles, often two or three deep, abutting on to two streets, with a passage through them, which to the initiated is a great convenience in shortening distances.\* They are let out in stories or flats, which are approached by a common stair, as in the towns of Scotland, or the inns of court in London, and one floor often contains two or three

\* Murray.

separate domiciles. One of the largest buildings in the city is the Schotten Hof, attached to the church of the Scotch Benedictines, who were invited to settle there by Henry I. of Austria in 1158; and though they were replaced afterwards by German monks, the convent is still named after them. It is possessed of great wealth, as a large part of the suburb called the Schotten Feldt stands on ground belonging to it. Opposite to this pile is another nearly as large, called the Mölker Hof, belonging to the monastery of Molk. The building called the Trattner Hof, in the Graben, produces 60,000 florins (6000*l.*) of rent annually, and is inhabited by 400 persons. The Bürger Spital, once a hospital, but now converted into dwelling-houses and lodgings, produces yearly 170,000 florins rental (17,000*l.*). It has 10 courts, containing 212 dwellings, and 1200 inhabitants. The Stahremborgische Freihaus, in the suburb Wieden, is, however, still larger, being, in fact, almost a town in itself, and contains 300 dwellings, 6 courts, 31 staircases, and 2000 inhabitants.

The numbers of the houses in the city and suburbs do not commence anew with every street, but are carried on consecutively through the whole city first, and then again through the suburbs, beginning anew at every police Bezirk or district. The object is to facilitate and simplify the inquisition and surveillance of the police; but in

the transactions of life the system is often attended with considerable inconvenience, as an address may contain only the words "*951 in the city*," without reference to the street or neighbourhood, and thus cause an endless trouble to find it if one is not provided with a directory.

The ground-floor of the houses not being the mansions of the nobility, which engross an important part of some quarters, is let off as shops, which have no connection with the houses themselves, the shopkeepers living mostly in the suburbs, and trusting to their locks and bars and the vigilance of the police for the protection of their property. Rents are naturally high in the city, from the anxiety of the great majority to reside within it; but the suburbs, as regards some districts, are preferable as residences: the houses are as good, with gardens in their rear; but the streets are neither so well paved nor so well kept as those within the walls. Attached to every house is an extraordinary official termed the *Hausmeister*, a compound of a porter and guardian, placed there by the proprietor to take charge of the premises. Rents are always paid for the quarter in advance, and thus the landlord is safe from any frauds; but still, where there are many tenants, his interest, as regards the safety of his property, require to be looked after, and the man's duty besides is to close under lock and key the entrance to the street at a certain hour, after which he expects

even from the tenants a small fee for the trouble of opening the gate. These persons at the residences of the nobles and people of consideration are promoted to the rank of porter, and preside over the entrance in all the dignity of their master's livery, with a huge laced cocked-hat, a broad baldrick bearing the arms in massive silver, and a bâton, the fac-simile of a drum-major's. In the winter they still maintain their posts, protected by a greatcoat lined with fur, and with cuffs and collar of bearskin; the one of the dimensions of a large muff, and the other of a cape reaching half way down the back. It appears almost as if there was a kind of rivalry in families to outvie one another in the appointments of these appendages of their caste.

Ancient as is the site of Vienna, there is nothing in its style of architecture or in its remains of public buildings which can speak to the fact, or carry the mind back beyond a century. The quaint old gable ends, and steep, many-windowed roofs, which characterise so many of the old German towns, have long since made way for more commodious and modern structures. The imperial palace is the only building of not really a recent date; but it has not the slightest pretension either to elegance of style, or to even common architectural design. It forms a hollow quadrangle of considerable extent; in the centre of which stands a heavy, unmeaning monument

(Denkmahl), surmounted with the figure of the late Emperor, and on one side a strong *corps de garde* and a couple of cannon, with a further force of a picked guard, called the Hofburgwacht, guard the precincts. The whole of the imperial family have their establishments within the walls. In the Joseph's Platz, a further quadrangle, three sides of which are occupied by the riding-school, the imperial library, the jewel office, the museum of natural history, minerals, and antiquities, is an equestrian statue of the Emperor Joseph; but it is without spirit or majesty, and the rider sits stiff and graceless on the horse. In the Graben, a principal street, is a cumbersome monument to the Trinity, consisting of a column meant to represent a pillar of cloud, swarming with little figures of angels, and surmounted with the dove, and two figures intended for the other personages. Public fountains are numerous, and are supplied from reservoirs at the extreme suburbs; but the designs of them are poor, and fail entirely in giving any idea of taste or elegance. The water required for domestic purposes by the inhabitants is chiefly obtained from these sources; but the task of fetching it is a most laborious and painful one to the women servants, who, loaded with a peculiar kind of hod (Hubbe), containing at least ten gallons, have to carry it to the various stories of the houses. By the police regulations, every house is compelled to be provided with a well,

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and to have in a convenient and conspicuous place a number of leathern pails, one or more ladders, and some coils of rope, in the event of fire. Indeed, the police have an arbitrary power in every thing connected with the internal economy of the city, and even of the houses, although in some of the details, the magistrature, which is entirely unconnected with criminal jurisdiction, is the executive. The lighting, paving, and cleansing are under the management of the latter, which for these purposes is empowered to levy a tax on the inhabitants, namely one and a half kreutzer (rather exceeding one half-penny) in the florin from every tenant on the amount of his rental, and one kreutzer in the florin on the landlord on the gross amount of rent he receives. To certify which, and to place the assessment beyond all doubt and dispute, every tenant is required to inscribe his name and the amount of rent he pays on a police-sheet, which must also be signed by the landlord. The total population of Vienna is estimated at 404,000, exclusive of military.

The city is well furnished with churches; but there are none of any architectural pretensions, excepting the cathedral, St. Stephen's church, as it is called, which is a masterpiece of florid Gothic architecture, but spoiled by a roof of stupendous height covered with glazed tiles of various colours, laid in mosaic patterns, and pouring on a gigantic scale the imperial eagle of Austria. In

fact, this roof is a modern affair, put on without the least regard to taste or harmony. The original structure was begun by Duke Henry II. in 1144, and the architect, Octavian Falkner of Cracow, pushed the work with such rapidity, that the church was consecrated in 1147 by Reimbert, bishop of Passau; and, having been severely injured by fire in 1528, it was restored on a larger scale. Rudolph IV., in 1359, however, laid the foundation of its present importance and grandeur. Wenzla, a poor but talented mason of Klosterneuburg, was ordered to build two great towers; but dying soon after, he was only enabled to carry the southern one to two thirds of its height, and Rudolph also dying, his successor Duke Albert III. and the Emperor Albert II. took great interest in the erection. This beautiful tower, which is one of the highest in Europe, being 480 feet high, is entirely of hewn stone, and was finished by Anton Pilgram at the end of 74 years; and it is recorded as showing the price of labour in those days, that a mason received five, and a common labourer three pfennigs (a fraction above a farthing) daily. Duke Albert V. caused a ball to be fixed on the extremity of the spire in 1433; but the great nave, begun by Rudolph, was not completed till after ninety years by the Emperor Francis IV. and the King Mathias.

The foundation of the second tower was laid in 1450, and after having reached the height of 145



feet, the work was stopped in 1516. After having remained neglected and uncovered for many years, and serving as a haunt for birds of prey, a temporary roof was put over it, for which, in 1579, a small turret with a copper roof was substituted. The building is in the form of a Latin cross, measuring in length 395, and in width 145 feet at the chancel, and 224 at the naves; the former being 164, and the latter 188 feet high. The old records state that 2900 balks of timber were used in the construction of the roof alone. Of the five doors, that at the northern extremity, which is flanked by two octangular towers 204 feet high, is the most remarkable. It is styled the giant door, and is a masterpiece of the old Gothic style. The interior, divided by two rows of elegant Gothic columns, richly carved and decorated, consists, besides the chancel, of six chapels, two sacristies, four choirs, three oratories, and forty altars. There are many objects of interest within the walls, among which are the vaults in which the former sovereigns of Austria are interred; the monument of Duke Rudolph and his wife (the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.), and the sarcophagus of the Emperor Frederick III. This last elaborate work was executed by the celebrated Nicolas Lerch of Strasburg, who finished the cover in the lifetime of the emperor; but the whole, containing two hundred figures, was not completed till the year 1513, at the cost of 40,000

ducats. There are also the monuments of the Field-marshal Prince Eugene of Savoy, and of the Cardinal Archbishop the Count of Kolloritsch.

The lightness and elegance of the finished tower cannot be sufficiently admired. The ascent is a nervous undertaking after a certain height. The first stage, upwards of 500 steps, is reached by a winding staircase of stone, which is succeeded by another flight of 200 in wood, and finally the summit is reached by ladders. A body of watchmen live in a room adjoining the clock, who at night strike the quarters, and ring the alarm-bell in the event of fire, which, with hanging out a light in the direction of the fire, is their immediate duty. The great bell, weighing 62,880 lbs., is cast from cannon taken from the Turks in the seventeenth century.

Many calamities have occurred to this tower. In 1450, shortly after its completion, it was struck by lightning, which burnt the wood-work, and so injured the masonry, that it was found necessary to restore it; and as the iron-work had also become distorted and fused, the operation occupied twelve years. In 1529 the summit suffered again severely from the cannon of the Turks, who besieged the city. The great earthquake of 1590 again caused considerable damage by throwing the spire out of the perpendicular, when it was again restored, and the former ball replaced by a larger one surmounted by a crescent; but violent

storms and the second siege of the Turks in 1683 made fresh repairs necessary. The Emperor Leopold I. having resolved on substituting a cross for the crescent, the task was undertaken by one Resytko and his sons for the sum of 1000 florins and suits of new clothing. This was accomplished in 1686; but the Spanish cross with which the summit was crowned, was hurled down by a tempest at the end of the same year. In the following year the imperial double eagle was fixed in its room, and maintained its post till 1839, although the tower itself suffered severely from the cannon of the French in 1809. But, notwithstanding the repairs which were then made by additional masonry, and the support of iron rods and girders, to remedy an inclination of more than three feet, it became evident in 1838 that the structure was in danger. It was decided in consequence to take down and to rebuild the defective parts; but considerable difficulty was experienced in raising a scaffolding of 180 feet in height, at an eminence of 300 feet from the ground: it was, however, surmounted, and at the end of three years the work was accomplished at an expense of 130,000 florins (13,000*l.*), and the summit was crowned with a new eagle of prodigious dimensions.

Attached to the staff of the police is a board of architects with numerous employés, to attend to and enforce the different regulations laid down to ensure the health and security of the inhabitants

by sufficient drainage and ventilation. Three plans of a house to be built must be lodged at the magistrature, when a commission is appointed to examine them, and if no objections present themselves, the work is allowed to proceed. The chief points insisted on are, that the scaffolding shall be so constructed that nothing can fall through it into the street, and that it shall not project more than six feet; that though the cellars may be carried to any depth, the foundation must be laid one sixth as deep as the house is intended to be high, the maximum height being restricted to four stories. The ground-floor must be arched, and the walls of the upper story must be two feet thick, while each one above the ground-floor increases six inches, so that in fact a house of four stories high must be four feet thick at the ground floor. No story may be less than nine feet six inches high, and the ground-floor must be at least six inches above the pavement of the street. All kitchens, on whatever floor, must be arched; and as each floor is usually occupied by several sets of tenants, each stove, to prevent annoyance, must have its separate flue, of at least seven inches in diameter, carried up at an angle of  $60^{\circ}$ , to facilitate cleaning, into the main chimney, which must be at least four feet above the roof, and be secured both above and below by an iron grating. The staircases must be entirely of stone, and the window frames of either stone or brick; and a

drain, at the expense of the proprietor, must be carried into the main sewer. The houses are built of brick cemented over, which, besides presenting a more uniform appearance, is necessary, as the bricks are coarse unsightly affairs : they are of large dimensions, measuring by statute  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, and cost about thirty shillings the thousand.

The value of land in the best parts of the city ranges from five to six hundred florins (50*l.* to 60*l.*) the square fathom, and in other parts from two to three hundred ; but in the suburbs it is much less, and ranges from five to fifty florins. On the rebuilding of a house, the magistrature has the power of setting it back to widen the street on paying for the land at the average value of that in the district. Leasehold property is unknown, and thus the owner of the land, even if another person should build the house, is registered as the proprietor in the Grundbuch, which is the complete record of all the household and landed property in the empire. In all towns, this register is kept by the Grundgericht, a peculiar kind of magistrate, and in the country places by the landowners or *Herrschaft*. In Vienna there are four of these registers, two civil and two ecclesiastical, one of which latter belongs to the metropolitan diocese, and is under the charge of the archbishop, and the other to the clergy of the Schotten order. All amounts of money advanced on mortgage or

otherwise on houses and lands must be entered on these records, to make the transaction valid and to prevent fraudulent practices.

Some of these arrangements are doubtless highly beneficial and salutary, but although they would be considered too stringent under any other form of government, that consideration sinks into the shade when contrasted with the extraordinary domiciliary powers of the police, which descend to the most personal and inquisitorial minutiae. They make a triennial visit to every house in Vienna, and inscribe on a separate sheet the history of every individual in it, from personal examination, scrutinising the residence ticket of every stranger, and satisfying themselves of the identity of every one of the inmates.

The paternal government goes, however, one step further, by requiring of every person who proposes to enter into business, to petition the magistrature for permission to do so, and who having received it, must again submit for approval the plan he has laid down for conducting the business and for fitting up the premises. When these details are finished, he must petition for a commission to examine the premises, to see that the work has been done in conformity with the plan agreed upon; after which he must give notice of his intention to begin his business. Upon this he is summoned before a committee of the magistracy, who place him under the most inquisitorial

examination, inquiring into his age, whether he be married or single, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, where he comes from, his proper profession, what capital he proposes to embark, how many men he will employ, on what terms he hires the premises, and then, not trusting to this evidence, its truth is substantiated by the most rigorous private inquiries and references.

To comply with these minutiae, and to submit to this ordeal, is sufficiently irksome, even if the result be successful and satisfactory; but it is certainly a monstrous stretch of power in the government and its officials to take upon themselves to judge of a man's capacity for business, and to decide arbitrarily on his capacity and industry, and to measure, in fact, his enterprise by their own standard.

The trades of the city are divided into different guilds, each possessing its own, which is presided over by a commissary of the police, the members being required to support it by annual payments. Each man is inscribed in the books of his guild, and apprentices, being also registered therein, may petition, when their period of service is expired, for permission to establish themselves; but they are, nevertheless, subject to the military service at the age of nineteen, unless they are exempt by law, or buy themselves off by finding a substitute. A tradesman not being free of a guild, or possessing a privilege, must obtain a

special licence from the magistrature, for which he pays an annual tax. The distinctions are inscribed on a sign-board affixed over the door to denote the name and business of the parties: thus, *K. K. privilegirter*, with the Imperial arms in addition, implies the possessor of a patent; and the same words without the arms, means one who is allowed to trade on payment of a tax, in consideration of his not having served his time, or been brought up to the trade he carries on; and *Bürgerlicher* (citizen) is connected with a hall or guild, where also workmen, seeking employment, make application. Jews, not being licensed residents, are not allowed to remain in the city for a longer period than a fortnight, unless on matters of special emergency, for which they must petition, and pay at the rate of a florin a week for the indulgence, besides being compelled to lodge at an inn.

This intolerance, together with the exclusion of Protestants from public situations, as before mentioned, are severe commentaries on the principles of the government, and stamp at once the narrow and antiquated policy which actuates it.

The perpetual appearance of the letters K. K., the initials of the words *Kaiserlich* and *Königlich*\*, the double titles of the Majesty of the empire, in every possible position, strikes the traveller with surprise, and he can ascribe no

\* Imperial, royal.



reason for it, till he finds that it is the proof or certificate of an official privilege. The words *K. K. privilegirte Retirade* on a little wooden hut in a recess in one of the streets, proclaim nothing less than that the police have authorised an enterprising old woman to establish a cabinet of a peculiar nature for public accommodation! At the various bathing establishments, the same spirit of petty legislation appears in the rules laid down for their management, literally as if the proprietors had no knowledge of their business, and the bathers were mere children or idiots. The price of the bath, whether with or without soap, and the number of towels to be given, is conspicuously fixed up, with the extraordinary notice that any person objecting to the state of the water, may order it to be run off, and a fresh bath filled!

The natural inference which arises from this system of universal interference is, that the human mind, debarred from exercising the least discretionary power, must follow mechanically in the track laid down for it, neither venturing on prohibited grounds, nor presuming to pass beyond the limit assigned to it. The power of the police is, in fact, more directed to points of regulation and of discipline than to prevention and protection, and, tenacious of the slightest encroachment or levity of remark, it asserts its dignity with unflinching zeal. It understands no trifling, and

even the weight of rank and influence would hardly screen an offender in that particular. There is an amusing anecdote told of Count Chandau, the son-in-law of Prince Metternich, connected with this subject. The Count is a disciple of the school of a well-known Marquess, who amused the people of England with his eccentricities and diversions a few years since, and having laid a wager that he would be arrested by the police without having committed the slightest offence, he disguised himself in the true Jeremy Didler style, a perfection of seediness and impudence, and going to the most frequented and fashionable coffee-house, desired to be served with a cup of coffee. The waiter, hesitating between the effrontery of his guest and the impropriety of such an appearance in the rooms, thought it best to humour him and to get rid of him without a scene. The coffee was supplied, and when payment was demanded, the Count drew from every possible corner of his rags various coins of the smallest denomination, but he was one piece short, which was offered to be forgiven him if he would but leave the premises. "Leave," he said, "I will not leave without having a glass of punch, and that immediately." "But, my good friend," replied the waiter, "it is impossible; for if you could not pay for the coffee, you cannot pay for the punch, and therefore you must go." "Well, if I must pay, change that!" cried the Count, as he pulled from his boot a note

for a thousand florins (100*l.*). The waiter, concluding that he had nothing less than a thief before him, took the note to his master, who, coming forward, perceived the Count replacing a very valuable watch in his pocket. This was conclusive, and a policeman being immediately procured, the supposed delinquent was given into custody. The Count accompanied his escort into the street, and there making him a low bow, said, "I am Count Chandau, and that is my carriage," as he advanced to one he had standing in readiness; "I wish you good morning, and will call for my note at the Police Office in the afternoon." His pranks are numerous, but perfectly harmless: still, were they played by any one of less weight, they would not be tolerated.

No capital of Europe can boast of finer collections and more extensive museums, both in the arts and sciences, than Vienna; but it is an undoubted fact, that there is less done to advance science, and to encourage the true philosopher, than in any other city of Europe. All who are capable of forming an opinion, or who dare express their sentiments on the subject, are unanimous on the lamentable truth; and the men of science and of literature who visit the capital recoil with dismay from the barren soil.\* The foreigner and visitor who spend their leisure hours in the Ambrose

\* Wilde.

Museum or the gallery of the Belvidere — see the richest treasures of the animal and mineral world crowded into the different splendid cabinets of Natural History — are lost in wonder at the brilliancy of the Schatzkummer — and contemplate in the museum of antiquity the noblest efforts of Grecian and Etruscan art, — whose minds are powerfully impressed with the paternal government which has created and endowed such noble institutions — and, looking at these things through the purple veil with which well-ordered diplomacy has encompassed them, say, “ Surely with such encouragements, art and science must flourish here — the savans of Vienna must be numerous and celebrated.” But, noble and impressive as these museums and institutions are, they have not produced the effects which similar establishments have in other countries. The higher branches of science are at a very low ebb : chemistry has never had existence ; astronomy is buried in the grave of its late professor ; mineralogy is locked up in the glass cases of the K K cabinet ; physiology is but a name ; and geology and comparative anatomy are still unborn in the Austrian capital — the former because it is forbidden to be taught lest it should injure the morality of the religious Viennese ! and the latter, because it has not yet been specified in the programme of education prescribed by the state. It appears hardly credible that there should not be one comparative anatomist of note in Vienna

or that the science should form no part of the extensive system of medical study prescribed in the university. A Cuvier, an Owen, or a Müller are not the offsprings of every country, and Austria never has had, and never will have, according to her present system, any philosopher of reputation until she publicly patronizes the sciences. Her jealous and caste-maintaining system continues to hold the surgeon (*Wundarzt*) in the most degraded position, from which he can never rise, whatever may be his talent or ability. He is still the barber-surgeon, and is compelled to exhibit the emblem of his trade—the brass basin, namely—pendant before his door, to keep open a barber's shop, and to shave for two kreutzers, somewhat less than a penny. Although many of these surgeons in the larger cities do not operate upon the chins and jaws of the inhabitants, yet they are obliged to keep servants to do so, as hairdressers or any other class of the community, excepting the *Wundärzte*, are not permitted to perform the operation. All the minor surgical parts of the profession are committed to them, such as bleeding, cupping, the application of leeches, and the dressing of simple wounds and fractures. If a fire occurs, the *Wundarzt* in whose district it happens is forced to attend, to be prepared for any accidents that may occur. The number of these practitioners in each district is limited, and none others are permitted to locate themselves without a special license from the

government, unless the inhabitants of the place desire it.

There are orientalists in Vienna, because the government, requiring diplomates and interpreters at her own as well as the Ottoman court, supports a school of oriental languages; and many other branches of knowledge of a like description, and arising from similar *political* causes, exist in the capital.

There are many able professors in her university, besides numerous directors of cabinets and museums, eminent naturalists, celebrated travellers, distinguished physicians, and several private individuals of acknowledged literary and scientific ability, some of whom have long since earned European reputations; but there is no central point of interest, no common rallying place, no general or special scientific society, where such persons may meet for mutual instruction, and the general propagation of knowledge,—in a word, there is no academy of science in Vienna. It sounds strange, and seems to call for inquiry, why the imperial city should be the only capital in Europe without an academy for the cultivation of science; more especially as such institutions are permitted to exist in other parts of the empire, as at Prague, Pesth, Venice, and Milan. Numerous and incontrovertible proofs could be adduced of there being sufficient material for the formation of such an institute at Vienna,

although the contrary is advanced, which, if it be true, proves but the ill construction and worse working of the universities, and different cabinets and collections. Other writers have raised a healthful spirit of emulation among kindred nations, and exhibited the great advance of science ensuing from the benefits of academic institutions in other countries; but all the efforts that have been made from time to time in the last hundred years to establish an academy in the Austrian capital, have proved abortive.

Were such an academy in existence, it would elicit native talent, and perhaps save the government the degrading necessity of procuring from other universities professors for its own; acting as the touchstone of real merit, independent of royal patronage, it would generate a desire for scientific knowledge and investigation, as experience amply proves has been done in other countries; and, moreover, it would advance and give greater scope to the mind of that class who naturally feel that Austria is not a free country,—the thinking and the educated.

The fear of change, even of a truly scientific and literary nature, seems almost as great a bugbear to the Austrian rulers as political advancement or reform; not that Austria need suppose that, by giving encouragement to the progress of science, it would thereby encourage a revolutionary spirit in the heart of its dominions. It has

been said of her, with all the boast of self-complacency, that while its ruler has retained the empire steady and unmoved, although formed of such an incongruous mixture of tongues and nations, when other countries of Europe have been shaken to their foundations, or had their governments completely overturned by war and internal revolution, Austria has, during the last half century, remained like a ship in a calm, sluggishly rolling on the windless swell, while her helmsman simply rights his wheel when the occasional vibrations of the rudder remind him that he is still director of the bark. This may, in political affairs, be all for the benefit of the country, as time will prove; but it is not alone in such matters that this vast country has remained *in statu quo*:—while the surrounding kingdoms have increased their commerce, extended their fame, and benefited mankind by their culture, patronage, and advancement of science, Austria can still boast that her rulers have preserved her unmoved and unaffected by the scientific progress and revolution of the last forty years. It may be for her political advantage that her double-headed national emblem should keep a watchful eye upon innovation from without or alteration from within; but it is to be feared that in this over-anxious care, the outstretched wings of the *Schwarzen Adler* have shaded the extensive dominions of Austria, and its imperial city in particular, from the light



of science, and cast a gloom upon the ardour necessary to discovery and improvement.

The two following circumstances speak volumes, and prove, incontrovertibly, the distaste which the Austrian rulers have for science. Gall, the distinguished phrenologist, was driven from Vienna for daring to step beyond the beaten path marked out for him by the state,—for venturing, even upon a purely physiological subject, to think for himself,—and for attempting to lift the veil that hangs over one of the most interesting portions of science.

Some years ago, Mohs, the greatest mineralogist of Europe in his day, requested permission from the government to deliver a course of popular lectures on mineralogy in the Imperial Cabinet. After a considerable delay, and when the police were thoroughly convinced that nothing political was intended, the proposal was acceded to. Attracted by the knowledge and eloquence of the professor, as well as the novelty of the subject, crowds of the first people of Vienna attended his course. After a few lectures, the number of his hearers amounted to some hundreds; great interest was evinced in society on the matter, and it became the general topic of conversation. It would have been supposed that so harmless and unexciting a subject as mineralogy could in no wise affect the political condition of the community; but the government thought otherwise, and at the end of the first six months these lectures

were ordered to be discontinued. Mohs soon afterwards resigned his care of the mineralogical cabinet.

The late emperor — Pater Patriæ, as he has been so often and with so little reason termed, — when asked for permission to found an academy, made this memorable answer, one that seems the stereotyped motto of Austria — “*Ich brauche keine Gelehrten, Ich brauche gute Beamten.* I want no men of learning, I want good employés!”

The public museums of Vienna are upon a scale of great magnificence, but, like many other things, are intended more for show than for use, although that remark hardly holds good from the very limited manner in which they are open to the public, three to four hours on one day in the week being all the time that is allowed. The cabinets of natural history and of minerals are particularly rich, the former having received vast additions in animals and birds from the exertions of the great traveller Baron Charles Hügel, and of Dr. Natherer, who spent eighteen years in South America: the fish, also, under the management of Professor Heckel, are in high perfection and preservation. The fish and game markets offer an ample scope for study and observation; the former producing the greatest variety of live fresh-water fish of any city in Europe, chiefly brought from the lakes and rivers of Hungary and Moravia, the Danube being particularly

poor in its supply. Among the varieties are *Carpio Macrolepidotus* (the *Spiegel*, or leather carp, from the lustrous appearance of its large scales); the *Perca leucoperca* (the *Schill*, or white fish, as it is termed in the American lakes); the Burbot (*Lota vulgaris*); and several species of sturgeon. The game market is constantly supplied with venison of the red deer, roe, chamois, and wild boar in their respective seasons; and in the winter, badgers, foxes, otters, and occasionally wolves, and beavers found in the Danube, are seen. Hares, pheasants, partridges, the capercalpie, black grouse, and sometimes bustards, are abundant and cheap, the former being brought into the city by waggon loads from the fields of the numerous battues. But there is little regard paid to the laws of sport, however lax the game laws may be on the point of killing game out of season, for partridges may be met with throughout the year; and on the 22d July, hen pheasants, partridges, and hares, both old and young, were exposed for sale.

The supply of carp is chiefly brought from the lakes and streams of Bohemia and Moravia. The fish are put alive in dense quantities into large casks, partially filled with water, and are drawn off at great speed in light four-wheeled waggons with two horses. The relays are always ready on the road to prevent delay, and at different points reservoirs of water are kept; that in the casks is

drawn off by an aperture at the bottom, and the fresh water falling on the fish in a continuous stream cleanses and revives them, the driver ascertaining that all impurity and slime is removed from them by receiving the water in a glass as it passes through, which it at length does in a perfectly pure state.

It is said that the first coffee-house known in Europe was established at Vienna in 1684 by a Pole, who had been employed as a spy in the Turkish camp, and who had the privilege accorded to him as a reward for his services. The idea seems to have been excellently adapted to the taste of the Viennese, for so indispensable have coffee-houses become to the habits of the people, that they abound in the city. They are not fitted up with the elegance of those of Paris, nor are they frequented by ladies or the élite of the inhabitants. Smoking and billiards are the leading attractions, and from morning to night these pursuits are plied unremittingly. For the tradespeople and lower classes, beer-houses have been lately established, the taste for that beverage having become extremely prevalent, notwithstanding the cheapness of the wines.

The love of music among the Germans is a national characteristic ; but in no part of any of the various states is it more cultivated or encouraged than in Vienna. Concerts not only follow on each other with breathless rapidity, but often, and

particularly on the Sundays during the season, several are announced on the same day. At one great saloon called the *Odéon*, capable of containing fifteen thousand people on its floor, concerts are occasionally given by the celebrated Strauss, and there prince and peasant perambulate on perfect equality. The Grand Duke Franz Carl, the heir presumptive to the throne, strolls through the crowd unmolested by officious respect, or impertinent gaze, the smokers neither intermitting their clouds, nor the supper-eaters neglecting their tables. During the summer these concerts are given in the Volksgarten and the Wasserglacié; and at the favourite country resorts of the people on the Sundays, the restaurateurs invariably entertain their guests with excellent music. At Hitzing, where Dommayer has erected a splendid saloon, and which is both fashionably and numerously attended, Strauss, with his band of forty performers, adds his attractions to the scene.

Among other places of public amusement, the dancing saloons are prominent, particularly during the season of Easter, and chiefly on the Sundays. The Redouten Saal in the palace is one of the number; and although the assemblages are not fashionable, being composed chiefly of the citizens and their families, yet it is not unusual for people of the upper classes to be present as spectators.

The Imperial family are extremely simple in their habits and style of life, and enjoy the privi-

lege rarely accorded to royalty, of being able to mix freely with the people in their walks and relaxations without experiencing the slightest annoyance or causing the least sensation. An air of kindness and affability characterises them, and they are accessible to any person without distinction who may have occasion to solicit their influence or attention. The Emperor may be seen daily from seven till eight in the morning walking on the *Basteyen*; and his brother, the Archduke Franz Carl, the heir presumptive, even more frequently, dressed without any regard to fashion or appearance; and from his invariable habit of returning a salute by taking off his hat, which he replaces by a jerk, it shows indisputable proofs of service.

On Sunday, the portion of the palace which lies between the Emperor's apartments and the chapel is thrown open to the public, that is, to such as are respectably dressed, to allow them to see the court pass in procession to and from the chapel. The rooms are lined respectively with the noble German, Hungarian, and Italian guards in state uniforms; the former, like the celebrated guard of Frederic the Great, or the *Cent Suisses* of the *ancien régime* in France, being remarkable for their stature and size.

The duty of the soldiers at the various guard-houses, particularly in the neighbourhood of the palace, is sufficiently irksome, from the necessity

of having to "turn out" so constantly to salute the passing members of the family. The appearance of a carriage with the yellow livery is hailed with a prolonged shout of *her-a-u-s*, and the whole guard is instantly under arms with drums beating.

The Vienna races appear to be in their infancy; that is, the racing mania has not spread sufficiently wide to have created a set of sporting men; but it is impossible that racing can ever become a national sport, from the peculiar character of the people, their habits of life, and the total want of that class of society which form so great a part of the wealth and intelligence of England. None ride but the rich, and they only make their *promenades à cheval* during the fine season; and as there are no field sports, and as the government has its own studs for the supply of horses to the cavalry, and provides, besides, for all the posting departments, there is no stimulus given for the improvement of the breed of horses. Racing, therefore, is but little understood, not even carrying the weight of fashion with it, nor attracting crowds to its exhibition. This as regards Austria: but the Hungarians have more of the centaur in their composition, and enter into the sport *con amore*.

The race-course is a fine grass plain formed by two arms of the Danube at the extremity of the Prater, and within three miles of the city; but with all the advantages of access it is poorly at-

tended. At the first spring meeting in May, 1847, there were certainly not three thousand persons present—few horsemen and fewer carriages. It was a *bond fide* matter of business, without any of the concomitants which give so much zest and life to our own races. No one moved from his place, nor was he permitted to do so by the police, which mustered in goodly force, both mounted and on foot, supported, besides, by dragoons with drawn sabres. Of course, under such dictators, everything was orderly; but that was not enough, there must be discipline also: and the disturbance of the one was as important as an innovation of the other. The author having gone to the end of the barriers, away from the crowd, and where no one was, threw one leg over the rail, in a sitting posture, to rest himself, when a policeman came running up and insisted on his removing it.

Neither booth nor tent enlivened the scene; and the only refreshment to be had was water, hawked about in pitchers by women, and sold at a kreutzer a glass. There is a kind of grand stand, and a temporary one for inferior people, both strictly guarded by the police; and to enable the stewards and directors to move about without interruption, they wore a little distinguishing brass badge in the button-hole. The racing began exactly at the hour indicated; and as the running was not in heats, it finished in a couple of hours,



and the course was then as thoroughly deserted as if no meeting had taken place. The customs of the turf in England as to weights and distances prevail. The attempt to personify the English in the peculiar fashion of dress which our sporting men and grooms assume is not a little singular, and in the reckless speed of driving to and from the course they are not a bit behind their prototypes. But with all these efforts to give an English tone to the proceedings, some violent contrast perpetually presented itself to dispel the illusion: such, for instance, as a groom in a cocked hat and cavalry boots taking charge of led horses, or a dragoon backing his horse into the crowd (?), under the pretence of its being too thick in one spot.

As park riders, many of those who display in the Prater ride well; but there is perhaps a little too much of the stiffness of the *manège* in the seat and position of the hands. The horses are mostly fine showy animals, with great action and in high condition. They are chiefly of English descent, and often attended by English grooms, and if that be not so, the native Bursch is made to assume the appearance of one in the cockade, leathern belt, top boots, and other appointments of his dress. Of the prowess of the men there is no opportunity of judging; but Count Chandau, the Austrian Waterford, holds a high reputation as a good and fearless rider. There are many anecdotes

of his feats current, and among other eccentricities he offered a wager that he would ride his horse round the ramparts on the top of the city wall,—a fearful venture, as it is not more than two feet thick, and though a mere breast-work on one side, is often eighty feet deep on the other.

In going over the madhouse at Vienna, the author was led to inquire into the histories of some of its inmates, from a desire to learn if there were any peculiar existing causes for the malady, as well as from the interest which some of the patients inspired him with. There were of course many cases of the customary delusions and supposed metamorphoses, which unhappily are too frequent every where; and there were others of an unusual character, to which we are for the most part strangers,—one especially, a Polish woman, who had lost her reason from some alarm, or probably from some real act of oppression and violence committed against her house and family in her own country, although the cause could not be ascertained, spent day and night clinging frightfully to the bars of her window, and screaming as in the agony of fear for protection against the robbers and murderers who were attacking her—a sad picture of some of the heartless scenes which that unhappy country has witnessed! A man, too, was there, harmless in every thing but his speech, which was one continued round of abuse against the existing form of government: the man was mad,

but as regards the subject there was reason in his madness. A woman, also, who, Narcissus-like, had fallen in love with her own beauty, ceased from her occupation of braiding her hair before a diminutive fragment of looking-glass, to call attention to the beauty and lustre of her eyes—the lustre of madness. An empress lay on her bed knitting; and a courtier, with a bow which would have served for a model in a palace, stood at the door of his cell salaaming every passer-by. The scene was the personification of Hogarth's picture. But poor Jattie! her sad tale haunted the memory for many a day after. Hardly in her twentieth year, she had yet been for many months an inmate of this wretched abode; but happily her reason is irrecoverably fled, and she is unconscious of the sufferings she has undergone, and which reduced her in an instant, when the crisis of her fate came upon her, to her present state. What they were can scarcely be imagined, and their intensity can only be judged of from the fact that in spite of her efforts to control them, they reduced her mind to a blank in a moment: the bow overstretched broke, and she exists a living automaton, beautiful in form but of a bloodless hue—perfect in the faculties of the external senses, but without one spark of the mysterious influence of the soul either as regards the past, the present, or the future. Her tale in some points has a slight resemblance to that of Lucy Ashton in the *Bride of Lammermuir*. It

does not appear that she had formed any private attachment, but probably like other young women she had had her day-dreams, and had sketched out her little scheme of future happiness with a partner of her choice ; however, from some reasons which do not appear, but are presumed to have been from a desire to disembarraas themselves of her, her parents insisted on her marriage with a very old man ; her remonstrances and prayers were unheeded, and the influence of friends was exerted to gain her consent, which she unhappily gave from her inability to resist their united and continuous importunities. The day arrived which was to seal her fate, and she was led forth to the ceremony ; but on presenting her at the altar they beheld an incurable idiot. The same relentless feeling has made her the inmate of a place of violence and horrors, when affection and kindness might still strike warm on her gentle spirit, and perhaps — for who can pronounce on the mysterious sympathies of the mind ? — touch some slumbering chord.

While other nations have exerted themselves to ameliorate the condition of the sufferers under this most awful of inflictions, to improve the system of their asylums, and to introduce modes of treatment which may conduce to a cure, Austria remains, as with its other institutions, centuries in the rear, dreading alterations and innovations, and, jealous of authority, charging

itself with the executive instead of the controlling power. The medical men, of undoubted talent and ability, who are appointed to this establishment, and who only accept the trust as a stepping-stone to preferment, are miserably paid, beginning at 20% a year, and never attaining to more than 90%. Their chief duty is to attend to the bodily health only of the patients; some petty control in extreme cases is permitted them, but no innovation on the system is allowed, nor do they venture on any suggestions for its amelioration. As some difficulty is found in getting keepers from the same reason of insufficiency of compensation, the most unfit characters are put in charge, and who, having even been dismissed for tyranny, have been compelled to be reinstated, as none others could be found to supply their place; and formerly, for that one incredible abuse has been corrected, they would excite and work up to a state of ungovernable fury the unhappy beings under their charge, for the amusement of visitors, who would laugh and give them money.

A circular tower, hollow like a shaft in the centre, is the present building—a most unfit form for the purpose to which it is assigned; for, as the cells all radiate outwards from a gallery which runs round the inner circle, the keeper has nothing under his eye, but has always to make the distance of half a circuit to reach any central point. A want of ventilation and an

unwholesome air pervade the whole ; and no effort is made to amuse or occupy the patients, many of whom lay wrapped in their blankets, or crouched in a state of nudity, as if ready for a spring, and glaring frightfully. In these wards there are about three hundred patients ; but there are besides underground cells, in which maniacs and ferocious beings are confined and chained down. Humanity sickens at the thought !

The term *Residenz Stadt*, literally city of residence, as applied to Vienna in all official matters, is most significant of the attitude of the monarch, and of the position of the people. It is equivalent to a proclamation of arbitrary power, and to an assumption that the nation derives its lustre and glory from the sovereign. Happily, however, for Austria, its evils have arisen rather from a mistaken policy than from wilful oppression, of which it possessed the surest conviction in the harmless and amiable character of the reigning family, who, having passed through the revolutionary ordeal, will not, by their future acts, refuse to acknowledge that the king is made for the people, and not the people for the king.

## POLICE AND PRISONS.

SOME incidental remarks on the system of police have been made in a former page; but so complex and important a portion of the state machine, which regulates every public movement, intrudes with an inquisitorial power into the concerns of domestic life, and is in fact the embodiment of the principles of the government, requires a special notice.

With a written law, defining the power of the magistrate, and the penalty to be paid for crime — with open courts where justice is jealously administered — and with a public press, as ready to expose as to correct — the elements which protect society and prevent crime should properly be found, as is, constitutionally speaking, the case in England; but the uncertainty of the law, the technicalities of evidence, and the expense of prosecutions, have a strong counteracting tendency. The sound part of society claims the first duties and cares of a state; and without leaning either to cruelty or unnecessary severity, all morbid sensibility and mistaken feelings of humanity are to be avoided. Prevention of crime is, or ought to be, the fundamental principle of all criminal law, which, significant in its warnings, and prompt in

its punishment, vindicates itself when the moral sense of duty is lost; but the chances afforded to escape by the uncertainty of the law, or by some technical or clerical flaw, defeat the important end. It is beyond all doubt that the extent to which the refinements of the law have been carried has become a serious evil, not only as deterring many a necessary prosecution, but as defeating the ends of justice.

Every faculty of the parliament is directed with the clearest and most earnest intentions to the perfection of some bill; every expression is discussed and every word weighed, and the competency of the parties thus engaged is never questioned; but as soon as the bill passes into an act, its framers are no longer considered equal to interpret its meaning, and the lawyers, assuming that prerogative, pervert its sense by some dexterous sophistry, and put the spirit and the letter completely at variance. It is a doctrine as unpalatable as true, that the laws, instead of presenting a barrier to crime, are distorted to assist the escape of the criminal.

This comparison naturally suggests itself when we come to examine the effect of the criminal courts in Austria, and the arbitrariness and summary dealings of the police, with whom suspicion is equivalent to crime, and innocence is no defence.

The police system in Austria is divided into |



three sections; viz., the secret police, whose duties are chiefly of a political character; the magistracy, who direct and superintend the internal economy of the country without any judicial powers; and the criminal or general police; and to these may also be added the censorship.

The duties of the magistracy are entirely of a civil character. The regulations of the markets, the paving, lighting, and cleansing the streets, the registration of wills, the custody of the land-register (*Grundbuch*), and the levy of all local taxes are vested in them. They provide the funds for the payment of the general police, and supply the men necessary for the force by a requisition to the general officer in command of the district, who causes them to be drafted from the different regiments; and as the least effective are always selected, the talents of the subordinates in the police force are not of the highest order; but as their discipline and duties are most minutely and carefully regulated, they have little occasion for any discretionary power, and their regularity and good conduct is to a certain extent insured by the certainty they have of being sent back to their regiments, should any departure from these essentialities occur. The men are dressed in a neat military uniform of bluish-grey, armed with a sword, and carrying a regulation stick, the necessary appendage of a non-commissioned officer in the army. In Vienna, they are thickly stationed

about the streets, occupying fixed posts, and are relieved every two hours.

The city and the suburbs have each eight divisions, or *Polizei Bezirke*, as they are called, which are each managed by a director (*Ober Commissär*), whose duties are confined to his own district, and who has a full staff of officials under him, including a physician and a midwife. These commissaries possess very considerable power; and, as there is no appeal against their decision — and even if there were it would be fruitless, from the impossibility of contending against such powerful authorities — cases of tyranny and oppression are not wanting. They can decide summarily for small offences, with the power of flogging, and of adjudging imprisonment for two years in the house of correction.

The people seem to be guided by an intuitive idea of the difference between right and wrong, or rather, of what they may and may not do; for they hear no public decisions, and the laws are neither accessible nor promulgated, excepting that when framed they are once published in one newspaper. But the difficulty is somewhat obviated by the fact that the police is as much a regulating as a preventive force; and it is well understood that every thing is prohibited which they do not sanction: in short, their duty seems to consist chiefly in keeping up the system of pupillage, and in enforcing the street regulations laid down by

the magistracy, who are the legislative and directing body. Thus, the prisons are governed by them, but disciplined by the police; and in all cases but these of criminal delinquency, the official business of the city passes through their hands; but the machinery of the establishment is too cumbersome, and the forms too multiplied and often puerile, to admit of the simplicity necessary for the dispatch of public business. The ignorance of some of the subordinates of the police is almost incredible; but yet, as long as they obey the rules laid down for them, their capacity is a matter of total indifference. Partly from necessity, because the waters of the Danube, owing to the droughts of the autumn, were too shallow to admit of navigation, and partly from motives of pleasure, the author, following the left bank of the river, entered the Austrian territories on foot. His destination for the night was a little village, Engelhartzell, on the right bank; and having passed the frontier, a wet ditch, with the blue and white post of Bavaria on one side, and the yellow and black one of Austria on the other, he was making arrangements with a solitary boatman to ferry him across the river, when an armed policeman made his appearance from some hidden spot, and demanded his passport. It was exhibited, but required to be registered at the office, a wretched cottage, where the comrade of the attending policeman was smoking on his bed. The

acting genius pulled out a book containing a vile scrawl of hieroglyphics, and proceeded to his work. It was a Foreign Office passport, bearing the signature of Lord Palmerston, which was the only word the man could decipher, and under that name the author was about to be inscribed: but to prevent mischief he insisted upon being properly entered; and then came the insurmountable difficulty whether the name was spelt with a hard or a soft D, as he chose to call the T—he preferred the former—and then the place, Londres (pronounced by him literally with the terminal s), was another stumbling-block—it was unknown to him—was it on the Rhine? (*Es ist mir unbekannt, ist es am Rhein?*) “What are those papers?” said the man, on examining a little portfolio. “Letters,” was the reply, which, in fact, they were. “What are they about?” “Read them.” “I cannot” and — “I will not,” was the answer. Such an introduction is a good preparation for other and more stringent ordeals which the traveller has to submit to in his course.

The arrangements at a fire in Vienna, singular enough of themselves, place the character of the police in a new light, and stamp their despotic treatment of the people. Amidst the heavy pealing of the tocsin from the summit of the Cathedral, the drummers from the different *corps de garde* turn out and beat the alarm through the streets; troops are marched to the spot, and

guard every avenue to the scene of disaster; the heavy ill-constructed engines appear at intervals on the scene; and carts, collected in the emergency, are made to ply between the different public fountains, to bring an irregular and insufficient supply of water, creating, by the plunging of the frightened horses, the crowding together of the vehicles, and the shouting of the men, an indescribable state of confusion. Late in the affair loud cries are heard in another direction, and, preceded by runners with lighted torches, the engine from the palace, surmounted with a large imperial flag, and drawn by eight heavy state horses, ridden by postillions in cocked hats and full livery, arrives. But there are no hands to work the engines, for volunteers are not to be found; and even if there were the military barrier prevents all approach. The police, however, who muster strong on the occasion, remedy the evil by charging into the crowd, and, seizing the first men they can lay hold of, drag them to the work, and compel their services.

Among other regulations, no heavy cart is allowed to enter the gates of the city after a certain hour, and therefore the traffic in the streets is confined almost to private carriages and public vehicles, which are mostly well appointed, and fitted with a little mirror inside; but before receiving his license every driver must give a practical display of his coachmanship before a com-

petent authority. Rapid driving, in which all indulge, would be dangerous in more crowded streets; and if an accident occurs thereby the police can order compensation to be made, and even adjudge imprisonment.

Offences against the state are visited by imprisonment in the fortresses for indefinite periods, and for life. It is a living entombment without mercy and without hope. Betrayed by accomplices, or by disguised emissaries of the police, the victim is snatched off, and he belongs to the living world only in name. The shield of innocence is no defence against the whispers of suspicion; imprisonment certainly ensues; and tardy justice, after the expiration of years, when all proofs have failed, restores the injured being to his freedom. But what can compensate for the years of wasted life! This applies equally to persons under suspicion as accomplices in any crime or offence, who are taken up and imprisoned till their innocence or guilt is established, perhaps for two years, and are then discharged, if guiltless, with the bare certificate of their innocence, in full for all compensation.

The courts of justice are private, the cases being heard by a judge in the presence of two citizens as assessors, whose only duty is to remonstrate against any harshness, and to enforce correction where errors have arisen. They are selected by the magistracy, and serve willingly

for the honour. This judge passes sentence, but is compelled to submit it to a superior judge (*Oberrichter*) for confirmation and approval. The evidence is entirely of a documentary character, and the prisoner has to explain, confirm, or rebut it by his own statements; and if there be no moral doubt of his guilt, no loophole is allowed for his escape.

All civil and municipal regulations are vested in the magistracy, together with a jurisdiction in all cases of civil law, which is, however, limited to sums not exceeding 200 florins in the suburbs of Vienna and in the less important provincial places. The court of bankruptcy comes also within their administration; and they elect the members for the Diet from the Bürger class. They order the inspection of the weights and measures according to the standard of the *Zimentirungs Amt*, seizing such as are found to be fraudulent, and fining the owners. The bread excise is fixed by them every fourteen days according to the price of corn, and the size of the loaf is regulated by the same standard; so that although the price of a loaf does not vary, the weight does very materially. In the winter of 1846, when the price of grain was extremely high, the size of the little rolls was so materially reduced, that the celebrated comedian, Nestroy, appeared on the stage with a quantity of them attached to his coat in lieu of buttons, and called them by the name of the functionary who

had the credit of the transaction; but the joke cost him dear, for he was summarily committed to prison for some days for the insult.

The expences of the municipality as regards the magistracy are naturally extremely heavy; and to meet the outgoings of their extensive and complicated department, certain funds and powers of assessment are placed in their hands. These are the market tolls, the octroi at the city gates, a house tax on both landlords and tenants, and a net sum besides of four florins on each house for scavengering purposes, and a further charge of twenty-five per cent. on the gross rental of each house, which is transferred to the government. These taxes are chiefly farmed, but much is lost by evasions and the venality of the collectors.

In all cases of death, an inspector specially appointed, and the surgeon in attendance, must make a return of the case and circumstances, and the priest of the parish is bound to keep a correct register.

The pawning establishment (*Versatzam*) is under the supervision of the magistracy; but the proceeds pass to the state. All goods, excepting furniture, are received, and a valuer is appointed for each description of property. An interest of twelve per cent. is taken on the goods, and they are allowed to remain for fourteen months; and if not redeemed or renewed then, they are sold by public auction.



Finally, the magistracy of Vienna has the management of all the establishments necessary for the maintenance of public order and safety. It is composed of one burgomaster, two vice-burgomasters, seventy-six councillors, and twenty-five secretaries. It is divided into three senates and sixteen bureaux; and the suburban council, consisting of 300 members, acts in union with it.

The defective construction and the demoralising, neglected discipline of prisons, which prevailed in England but a few years since, have been equally felt, though they still exist in Austria; and where other nations have turned their serious attention to an improvement of the penitentiary system, and to prison discipline generally,—even to the extent of forming a *Congrès Penitenciaire* at Frankfort in 1846, to discuss the question, and to institute comparisons, which was numerously attended by parties from all countries, excepting Austria,—it has made but one step, and that, unfortunately, in the wrong direction. It has made an attempt at classification without reflecting on the evil of bringing together prisoners of different degrees of criminality and of every shade of character. The true end of punishment being the prevention of crime, it is self-evident that it can only be attained by correction and by moral improvement; and as protection to society is more advanced by attending to the interests of the person to be punished than to the amount of

punishment itself, it naturally follows that the whole scheme of prison discipline is grounded on this basis, and that contamination by association, its antagonistical principle, must be avoided. The remedy is not to be found in the secret conclave of a state council, nor in the mysterious bureaux of the police, where the voice of practical men, and of those who have devoted their attention and energies to the subject, is not heard; and as the censorship would undoubtedly have suppressed any work commenting on any of the government institutions, no public interference or suggestions have been possible. One point has, however, been attained in Austria, which is, if possible, more important to the well-being of society and the suppression of crime, than the disciplinary system itself. It provides, namely, for the released prisoners, and allows none of them to be turned loose on society again bare and penniless, with no other resource before them but theft and crime. A fund created by benefactions and subscriptions supplies the parties whose term of imprisonment has expired with the means of subsistence till they can obtain an honest living; and hence few but hardened offenders appear again before the tribunals. The subject is not purely one of philanthropy towards the prisoner, by removing the inducement to crime from want, and by letting him feel that the crime for which he has paid the penalty has not made him an outcast, and placed

him out of the pale of society ; but it is positively a duty to the community by the moral benefits it confers. It is a false argument to lay down, that the liberated offender should not be allowed the same privileges and means of competition as the honest citizen. There is a soul to be saved, and as "there is more joy over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons," it is an undoubted Christian duty to give the utmost assistance to the returning feelings of virtue, by placing the means of leading a new life before the willing candidate. The morbid sympathy for the heathen world engrosses too much of the attention which would be more advantageously bestowed in promoting religion, and in removing irreligion, at home, where the ignorance of the savage, with crimes that he is guiltless of, prevail to so frightful an extent that humanity shudders at the thought. The reformation of the offender is worth every effort ; but the cares of the state in this respect do not embrace the whole wants of the case ; for destitution and criminality follow on each other's steps in the very family of the man whose individual case is undergoing its course of moral discipline. His wife and family are shunned like infected beings by all who are not as wretched as themselves ; and deprived of their support, they either become a public burthen, or fall into courses which bring them also within the compass of the law. If penitence and a

yearning for better things comes over the prisoner in his probationary confinement, would not the seed, instead of falling on stony places, rather take root 'in good soil, if he knew that his future banishment would be shared by the wife and children from whom he is about to be severed, perhaps for ever? for human nature was never yet so degraded as to be dead to all the kindly feelings of the heart, by touching which a more certain reform can be effected than by the most perfect system of discipline. A greater moral good will be worked out, and an inestimable benefit to society would be conferred, not only at home, but in the penal colonies, by permitting the wife to join her husband in his exile: in the one, society would cease to be burthened with a helpless family, branded with disgrace and driven to crime in its extremity; and in the other, the wants of the colony would be assisted, and the man, no longer desperate and reckless, would feel an anxiety to retrieve himself, and to carry out the resolutions of amendment he had formed. No country in the world has such ample opportunities of blending mercy with its criminal code, and of diffusing blessings in its very act of punishment as England, and yet how little has been done!

Austria, devoid of colonies, and with no opportunity of employing its convicts in public works, is constrained to vindicate its laws by the imprisonment of the offenders. The period for

criminal offence varies from two to ten years, according to the circumstances and magnitude of the case.

The principal prison, the *Criminal Gefangenhau*s, in Vienna, is a vile barrack, most unfit for its purpose, and occasionally subject to the overflowings of the Danube. The rooms are small, crowded, overheated, and filled with impure air from the absence of ventilation, and the smell of the hemp used in the manufacture of cloths carried on. The prisoners, consequently, look wan and sickly; but with all these drawbacks the mortality among an average of six hundred prisoners does not exceed six per cent., which is about one half higher than the average of the prisons throughout England. The men are shackled at the leg, and are compelled to work at the loom for a given number of hours, the produce of their labour being sold, and the profits, placed to their credit, are paid to them in their respective proportions when released. For exercise they are made to walk round a large yard in single files for an hour, under the eyes of some armed guards, and at meal times they march in the same order to a kind of lobby, carrying their own jugs, where a measure of porridge and a modicum of bread are served out to them; but it must be confessed that the attendance of a woman and of a little girl of ten years of age, for that purpose, as the author saw, was not exactly adapted to the place. In

the working rooms silence is enjoined as much as possible ; but as the arrangement of the building precludes anything like proper inspection, it cannot be enforced. The protection of the prison is entrusted to an armed force, whose sentries are numerous scattered through it, even to the altar of the little chapel, which is accessible at all times.

The House of Correction is a fine new building, and contains within its walls the criminal courts, but it is ill-adapted to the purposes of a prison from the defectiveness of its arrangements, and the consequent impossibility of maintaining a proper degree of superintendence over the prisoners. It is devoted entirely to such whose term of imprisonment is not to exceed two years, and to those whose cases have not been decided by the courts.

The system of separate confinement is unknown in Austria excepting for political offenders in the fortress of Spielberg.

The provincial prisons are, if possible, worse than those which were known in England before the earliest improvements took place. The necessity of adapting a system to juvenile offenders has not been felt ; and the idea of effecting a reformation in the prisoner excepting by the effects of punishment has not been entertained. Austria has yet to learn that reformation and punishment cannot be attempted together ; and that prison discipline must be strictly a penal

application, to deter others from the commission of crime by its severity, while it affords the opportunity of moral reformation. The discipline of a house of correction is to deter, and that of a penitentiary to reform; but Austria has not yet turned her attention to the latter, nor instituted any penitentiaries in her dominions.

## POSTSCRIPT.

PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE  
EMPIRE.

THE foregoing pages,—written while Austria, still indulging in her dream of security and the immutability of her policy, presented, like a frozen stream, nothing to the external senses but an uniform placid surface, and appeared unconscious that, beneath that semblance of repose, the silent current, impeded by obstructions contrived to regulate its course, was about to burst its prison and to spread havoc through the land,—have served probably as a preface to her present position, by explaining the nature and intention of her institutions, and the effect they have produced on the people. It appears almost certain that, though endurance had reached its highest point, no change would have been attempted in, nor attack made upon, her antiquated system, but for the facility with which the powerful monarchy of France had been made to succumb to a popular *émeute*. A change, in fact, was not deemed possible as long as Prince Metternich held the reins of government; but such was fully expected, and



to some extent resolved on, when his earthly career should have terminated.

The successful revolution of 1830 in France found no sympathisers in Germany, and its various states were undisturbed by the shock, which, vibrating on Belgium, revolutionised that kingdom also; but, by a singular reversal of events, the political tornado of 1848 left Belgium, now strong under the sceptre of a limited and popular monarchy, uninjured, while it shook every state in Germany to its foundations; and however they may have weathered the storm, it will require the consummate skill of their rulers to control and calm the still turbulent elements.

The first intelligence of the revolutionary movement in France created the most lively interest among the people of the surrounding countries, and it was self-evident that none would be more violently affected by that great commotion than the Austrian Empire; for in none were there so many elements of change struggling for a vent, and in none had so few enlightened measures been taken to avert the catastrophe. Implicated in the intricate conflict of interests in her several states, and already uneasy at the position of her Italian provinces, Austria received the intelligence with alarm, and the shock vibrated through every nerve of her system. The impetus given to popular opinion burst through her restrictive cordon, and in a moment she was pursued

by the demands of her several states like a debtor by his creditors. The advance which had been made by Prussia had already established the unpleasant conviction that the aspirations for liberal institutions and the freedom of the press would meet with ready sympathisers in her own states, while the manifesto of Frederic William, claiming that Germany should be transformed from a confederation of states into a federal state, with a federal representative and constitutional institutions, pointed irrevocably to the downfall of absolutism. The infection soon manifested itself in Lower Austria, and the day on which, by an extraordinary concession to the spirit of the age, the ancient estates of that province were to enjoy the privilege of presenting a humble and loyal address to the emperor, the people of Vienna superseded them, and in a few hours their resolution sealed the doom of a ministerial absolutism of forty years.

Panic-struck at the first ebullition of popular feeling, and with the recent example of France before her eyes, which carried the warning of *Vae victis!* to the breast of every ruler in Europe, the government of Austria unhesitatingly granted the concessions demanded of it, and in a moment annihilated one of the main pillars on which its whole system rested. Relying, however, too much on the feeling of indifferentism which it attributed to the people, and unwilling to sur-

render to what it considered as a sectional movement improvised by the restless enthusiasm of the students and of a disaffected mob, it showed symptoms of vacillation, and a wish to recall its concessions, and to recover its position by force. But it was too late to attempt a retrograde movement, as the students and populace had armed and organised themselves, and were importunate in their demands for an immediate amendment in the constitution of the chamber of deputies, and the liberty of adopting measures for the greater development of the representation, for the revision of the finances, and for a general restoration of the confidence of the country, with the freedom of the press. A decree authorising the latter had been issued, recalled, and again formally promulgated; and from that time it became evident that the movement had assumed completely the character of a revolution, and that the conservative system could no longer be upheld. The emperor accordingly published a proclamation, stating that he had made such arrangements as he recognised to be requisite for fulfilling the wishes of his subjects; that by the abolishment of the censorship, the liberty of the press should be allowed in the form under which it existed in those countries which had hitherto enjoyed it, and that a national guard, established on the basis of property and intelligence, should be organised to protect the public welfare; that the necessary

steps had been taken for convoking, with the least possible delay, the deputies from all the provincial states, and from the central congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom (the representation of the class of *Bürger*s being strengthened, and due regard being paid to the existing provincial constitutions), in order that they might deliberate on the constitution which he had resolved to grant his people, &c. But uneasy doubts still prevailed in the minds of the people, and a deputation of the students waited on the Archduke Ludwig, who, being enraged at the tone of their requests, turned on them, saying, "Good God! tell me who governs here, I or the gentlemen of the University?" Dr. Schilling replied, "Up to this moment your Imperial Highness has governed, but who will govern an hour hence nobody can tell."

The government of Prince Metternich, which had latterly been entirely influenced by his wife, had become most obnoxious, not only to the middling, but also to the higher classes of society, and even to some of the branches of the Imperial family: the haughty conduct of himself and his creatures to the people and the nobility, and the appointment of numerous foreigners to high offices, had created the greatest discontent. No nobleman possessing any pretensions to honourable feeling would submit to bow to the omnipotence of the minister, while many of those who paid

him homage performed the unwilling duty in the patriotic hope of arresting the fatal policy he pursued. Many retired into private life and refused to meddle with the affairs of the state; while others sought the army as the only escape from the intriguing and time-serving spirit of the day; and as the political business of the country became consequently entirely unknown to those who, from their position, ought to have understood it, and were capable of rendering important service, the government was carried on by a set of foreigners, and by the needy nobility of the land, who were especially the creatures of the prince, to the exclusion of men of talent and of liberal minds, whom he regarded as enemies to the state. The lower ranks of the bureaucracy had grown so elated at the dignity of their position, and at the power they possessed, that their pride and insolence became insupportable to the middling and lower classes of society, while the great officials and dignitaries of the state were equally hated by the higher orders. The same system of oppression, and the same feeling of disgust, prevailed through the empire, and the desire for the Prince's death or removal from office became more general every day.

In spite of his numerous spies Prince Metternich was not aware of the tone of the public feeling, but founded his opinion of it on the statements and sycophancies of his flatterers. In their

desire to throw off the yoke, the people of Austria were far from wishing to become accessory to any violent measures, and it appears evident that the first steps of the late movement were brought about by the acquiescence of men of standing, as a means of getting the Prince into disgrace, and of shaking him off entirely by proving to the Emperor, by facts and demonstrations, that the government was unpopular, and that a change was imperative. Professors Endlicher and Hye, both men of great note, and of high standing in the literary world, instigated thus by others in the back-ground, were the organs of the first movement; and through their means the students of the university were prepared for a public demonstration, which, however disastrous in its consequences, was not intended to be more than an exhibition of popular feeling. Prince Metternich was aware of what was passing in the university; but confident in the strength of his power, he treated the matter with contemptuous indifference; and the Princess, sharing in this feeling, said on the evening of the 12th of March, the day preceding that on which he was hurled from power, that any movement in Vienna could be put down by a cart-load of sausages (Würstel), and a few barrels of beer.

Nothing therefore was done to suppress the excitement, which might have been effected in its infancy by a handful of police. Professor Hye

drew up a petition, humbly soliciting an extension of political freedom, which was to be presented at the first meeting of the Ständskammer on the 13th of March, by the body of students, headed by the two professors; and, accordingly, on the morning of that day, the students assembled at the university, and went in procession to the Land Haus in the Herrngasse. All Vienna had been engrossed in conversing on the subject for some days previously, and was curious to see the result of so extraordinary and bold a proceeding; many laughed at it, and all treated it as a certain failure. The respectable part of the students, fearing to be inscribed in the black book, refused to join the procession, which, composed of the shabbily dressed and more reckless portion of the body, presented a ludicrous appearance as it passed along the streets, shouting for liberty, and terrifying the assembled crowds, fearful of compromising themselves, into silence. The procession having assembled in the court of the Land Haus, many of the students, borne upon the shoulders of their comrades, but pale with terror at their own daring, addressed short but significant speeches to the crowd, while the members of the Ständskammer were collecting to receive them. The whole of the Herrngasse and the surrounding streets were by this time filled with the most respectable inhabitants of Vienna, who began to speak loudly of their intention to support the

petition, which was presented to the Kammer by a deputation, and taken to the Emperor. The crowds continued to increase, the shops were closed, and the business began to assume a serious character, when the Archduke Albrecht thought proper to ride through the Herrngasse, where he was received with acclamations. He urged the people to disperse, assuring them that their wishes should be taken into consideration; but they insisted on remaining until the result of the answer from the Emperor was known. His persuasions being disregarded by the people, who by this time found a relish for an excitement hitherto unknown in Vienna, the city gates were ordered to be closed and the military to be called out. On the Archduke again appearing in the Herrngasse with a company of grenadiers, he peremptorily ordered the people to disperse, which order being disobeyed, he directed the soldiers to fire, when two men fell. The people now became enraged, and attempted to drag the archduke from his horse, which was only prevented by the courage of the soldiers. The excitement was fearful, and grew more portentous as the news of this ill-judged transaction spread like wildfire through the city. The cavalry were then ordered to disperse the people, and in the large square *Am Hof*, where they had assembled in large numbers near the arsenal, another man was killed and several wounded. The intelligence of this massacre



having reached the Emperor, he commanded that all firing should cease, and that the city gates should be closed, with permission of egress, but not of ingress. In the *Ball Platz*, where Prince Metternich's palace stands, many inflammatory speeches were delivered, and one orator, who was mounted on the shoulders of a man, was shot. The military having withdrawn to the most commanding positions in the city, the mob, as the evening closed in, armed themselves with sticks and boards torn from scaffoldings, and perambulated the streets, smashing windows, and doing other acts of mischief; but, although the aspect of affairs was very serious, the night passed without any attempt at attack on either side.

On the morning of the 14th, the head Burgo-meister and a number of the citizens went as a deputation to the Emperor, requesting him to accede to the wishes of the people, or they would not answer for the consequences, and laying particular stress on the necessity of causing the resignations of Prince Metternich, and of Count Sedlnitzky.

Prince Metternich, whose last act had been to dissolve the popular chamber of Hungary, in reply to a free remonstrance against his policy, which it had addressed to the Emperor, having fled, Counts Kollowrath and Montecuculi received instructions to form a new ministry. The arrival of the Palatine of Hungary, the Archduke

Stephen, from Presburg, with the intelligence, that the Magnates of Hungary had resolved to march from Presburg, and join the popular cause, decided the Archdukes as to the impossibility of resisting the popular demands, and they accordingly resigned. Kossuth also, a leading man among the Hungarians, came up with a body of his countrymen; but finding the popular cause already triumphant, he exerted himself in allaying the public excitement, in furtherance of which ends also, the Emperor, relying on the affections of the people, showed himself in the streets in his usual unostentatious manner. The act was duly appreciated, and his appearance was the signal for general acclamations and rejoicings: his carriage was beset by the enthusiastic crowds, who finally detached the horses, and dragged it to the palace. These professions of loyalty and devotion excited the nervous temperament of the facile monarch, and agitated him even to tears, as he exclaimed, "Why did you not communicate your wishes to me sooner?" It wanted but this remark to prove that he had been a passive instrument in the hands of a Camarilla, who, however they had curbed the free progress of the people, had not impaired their loyalty.

Uneasiness and fears of reactionary measures continued to fill the minds of the people, who were bent on obtaining the concession of liberal securities, and which Count Pillersdorf, who had been

called to the head of affairs, exerted himself to establish. The ministry having been declared responsible for their actions, adopted a liberal policy, and selected twelve members of the Diet and twelve citizens to assist them in preparing measures adapted to the new principle of government. The court of the secret police was abolished, and its agents, warned of the illegality of their proceedings, were removed; the use of spies was also totally discontinued, with the public declaration that the free press was of itself a sufficient security against the existence of conspiracies and plots; and liberty of the person was fully guaranteed.

While these concessions were being made in the best spirit, and with a desire of reorganising the government on a popular basis, the Hungarian nobles took umbrage at the attack made on the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, and manifested great dissatisfaction at the two imperial decrees which were published on the subject. They considered that the abolishment of the urbarial rights, although accompanied with an offer of compensation, and the proposition to place the war and finance departments of Hungary under the control of the imperial government, were a direct infringement on their natural rights, and talked loudly of declaring their independence, and of subjecting the Slavonic race to their rule. Kossuth, in addressing the Diet at Presburg, told them that the *Robot* was already lost to them, and

that their feudal powers had ceased to exist; he denounced the Archduke Ludwig by name as an evil councillor, who urged the adoption of measures without holding the responsibility of a minister. Excited by these and similar speeches, the Presburgers echoed the sentiments that had been uttered, and hung the unpopular councillors in effigy. The flame thus kindled soon spread, and the whole of Hungary declared itself in open opposition to its sovereign, consummating its criminality by the execrable massacre of the imperial commissioner, Count Lemberg, and by a declaration of the Diet that the commission by which he was appointed was illegal from not being countersigned by a minister, and that consequently all troops and officials who should obey it would be guilty of high treason to Hungary.

The contagion of the French revolution having previously set the restless nationalities of the Austrian empire in a ferment, Hungary had seized the opportunity afforded by the crisis to plunge into the arena, and to demand the recognition of the independence of the kingdom. The concession was at once accorded, and it was proclaimed a distinct state with its own king and diet, with an independent administration, and with political institutions modelled according to the demands preferred; but, as if instigated by terror, or bewildered by the pressure of events, the Austrian government conceded to that of

Hungary the power to exercise over others the very prerogative against which they had themselves rebelled, namely, to bring the Slavonian provinces on their borders into the same relations with the Diet at Pesth, which they had themselves so strenuously repudiated at the court of Vienna. Dissensions and jealousies had existed for many years between the various races inhabiting Hungary; but the Magyars, though the dominant, and, physically considered, the superior race, were so numerically weak as to furnish barely a fourth part of the total returns of the census, the remainder, excepting an inconsiderable element of Germans, and about a million Wallachians, being made up entirely of Slavonians. Formerly the use of the Latin tongue stood in the same stead to this motley population as it did in the old times to the *literati* of Europe, and enabled them to meet for common purposes on a neutral ground. But this compromise was terminated some years back by the substitution, on the part of the overweening Magyars, of their own national language for the conventional Latin; and this example and foretaste of their oppressive ambition was naturally ill-received. At the late crisis, however, the Diet availed themselves of a situation in which the court of Vienna seemed scarcely to retain the power of refusing any thing, and obtained the imperial sanction for definitively and absolutely incorporating with the kingdom of Hungary those

provinces of Croatia and Slavonia on their southern border, which had hitherto retained a *quasi* independence of their own—the whole constituted kingdom being of course intended to represent only the dominant nationality of the Magyars.

But in this project they met with an opposition quite unexpected, at least in such force. The nationality of the Slavonians had been quickened, by the revolutionary epidemic, into a passion quite as lively as that of the Magyars; and they very reasonably considered that if the new system of politics emancipated the Hungarians from the control of the Germans, it could hardly be so anomalous in its operations as to subject them to the control of the Hungarians. Accordingly the provincial Diet of Croatia returned a flat refusal to the propositions despatched from Pesth, and when, upon the strength of the imperial sanction, the Hungarians prepared to enforce their will by arms, Baron Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, promptly accepted the appeal, and, taking the initiative, at once marched upon Hungary.

After having made a triumphant progress almost to the gates of Pesth with the warlike bands under his command, and when the fall of that city seemed inevitable, a new direction was given to affairs by the events at Vienna.

Consequent on the murder of Count Lemberg, three imperial decrees had been issued, commissioning Baron Adam Recsey to form a new Hun-

garian ministry, dissolving the Diet, and declaring Hungary under martial law, and appointing Baron Jellachich commissary plenipotentiary over all Hungary until peace should be restored. These proclamations created the greatest excitement in Vienna, where public opinion had already been put on the alert by the concentration of large masses of troops in the vicinity of the capital; and the ferment was still increased when it was said that the dissolution of the Hungarian Parliament, the appointment of Baron Jellachich to the lieutenancy of the kingdom, with the other measures contained in the proclamations, were but the links of a chain which was to bind Austria down to what she was previous to the days of March. It was given out by the demagogues, that the military, and especially the Grenadiers, were in favour of the popular cause, and would refuse to march; and, accordingly, steps were taken to further this resolution by breaking up the line of railroad on which they were to be forwarded. A serious conflict ensued, and the very parties who, but a few days before, refused to receive a deputation of 150 members of the Hungarian Diet, who had arrived at Vienna on a mission "not to the Emperor, but to the people," broke into open rebellion to prevent the Imperial troops from proceeding to restore order in that kingdom. Faithful to his sovereign, Jellachich, upon receiving this intelligence, changed his plans, and shaped his march

upon the capital itself, for the purpose of siding with the Imperial troops in reducing the insurgent Viennese to obedience. This task having been now effected, the original purpose of re-establishing the royal authority in its full force in Hungary has been resumed, and the vengeance of offended majesty and law is about to fall on that kingdom. While the elements of revolution and discord held the supremacy in Vienna, and when a blow might have been struck at the integrity of the empire, or a new order of things have been induced by the triumphs of the popular party, the Hungarians, who had advanced in great force to within thirty miles of the city, and had meditated a junction with the insurgent populace, which was anxiously and imploringly sought for, held aloof from a feeling of prudence, or from some less honourable motive, and suffered the very parties who had risen in their behalf to succumb without an effort to aid them. The timely suppression of the revolt in Bohemia placed a large *corps d'armée* at the disposal of the Emperor, and enabled him to send an imposing force from Prague under Count Windischgrätz to join the Ban in his attack on the Viennese.

Violent and lamentable as was the outbreak in Prague, the firmness and judgment of Prince Windischgrätz had succeeded in enforcing submission and in restoring order. It was another of the senseless movements of a populace to resist



authority with violence, and to rush with infuriate zeal into a contest, which, if not successfully resisted, hands them over to a tyranny, compared to which despotism is a blessing. The penalty they paid was as severe as merited; and without having extorted a single concession from the government while in arms, they have since received through Count Pillersdorf the assurance that their wishes, as regards the use of their language in their schools and courts of law, the constitution of a national assembly, and the formation of a national guard, shall be complied with.

The pretence of the Hungarians that they took up arms to secure the adoption of liberal principles in the empire was a political fraud, which exposed itself by the tone of independence they arrogated when they perceived the authority of Austria was on the wane, and were emboldened in consequence to put forward the immoderate pretensions and demands which originated the war, and called forth the Ban, a Croat, who dreading the servitude intended to be imposed on his countrymen, unsheathed his sword to save their liberties and the undivided power of the empire. Should the Hungarians under Kossuth succeed (a result little to be apprehended), the Sclavonian race would be subjugated and deprived of all their privileges; and Austria would fall into the hands of wild theorists instead of being regenerated.

Such is the brief outline of the events which

have convulsed the Austrian empire; and although originally there were grounds for disaffection, and just reasons for demanding the suppression of the system which paralysed the energies of the people, yet it must be confessed that no apology can be found for the open defiance of all authority, and for the armed resistance which finally brought upon the capital of the empire the punishment of a vanquished city. The work of regeneration had begun, and the Emperor had pledged his imperial word that the concessions he had already made should be maintained, and that the progress of popular reform should not be frustrated or delayed. It was laid down as the basis of the new constitution, that an upper house should be instituted to consist of 200 members, of whom one-fifth was to be nominated by the Emperor, the heads of the princely houses having a seat *ex officio*, and the rest being elected by such of the landed proprietors as paid 1000 florins and upwards in taxes annually. The lower house was to be on the broadest democratic basis, and to be composed of 400 members, in the election of whom every man was to be entitled to a vote, and even to be eligible as a representative.

It may be said, with reference to the constitution of these two houses, that the Emperor would preserve too great a preponderance in the former, and that, in the latter, the number of the

representatives would not be in proportion to the population of the empire, and which will appear to be the case on comparison with England and France ; but as regards the actual good to be obtained, and the fact that several kingdoms of the empire possessed their own houses of assembly, the number proposed was perfectly just, and sufficient in every respect to counterpoise and control the acts of the government, by representing the popular feeling of the empire ; still, in this altered position of affairs, the monarch would find himself unable to impose his own ministers on the state, and to mould the government to his will. Although no government can be stable which does not represent the dominant influence whatever it may be, still no government can cite the authority of the people, nor represent a whole people, but must always rest on some partial but paramount influence, securing its own stability and performing its own functions best by a full development of its own efficacy ; and, *pari passu*, the patriotism of the people does not consist in finding checks for that power, but in aiding its development.

The position of affairs in all the provinces of the empire, and indeed through the whole continent of Europe, is favourable to the resumption of power. While the tide of events seemed to tend to anarchy and the disruption of all the social landmarks, the empire still answered to the helm,

and the political atmosphere, purified by the very elements that overcast it, is again brightening with a serener aspect and a fairer promise. No one who has watched the course of events in the Austrian empire can doubt but that its integrity will be maintained, and that the strong sense of the people will predominate over the hollow theories and frantic movements of the ambitious and disaffected, whose levelling principles, while they have wrought their own ruin, have established that bond of union between the nobles and the crown which is so essential to the well-being of the state. Much remains to be done in the work of reconstruction, but a constitutional monarchy, a responsible ministry, and a representative assembly, with the removal of all abuses and restrictions, will strengthen the power of Austria, and enable her to resume the position as the leader of Germany, which was lost to her feeble grasp when compelled to abdicate the Roman crown. The sketch of the fundamental law presented by the "Constitution Committee" of Vienna to the Assembly, proposing the abolition of nobility and of noble prerogatives, and of the penalty of death, the unconditional right of petition, the lawfulness of public assemblies except in cases of apprehended danger, and the separation of church and state, was too vast, and startled even the admirers of freedom, who saw hidden beneath its specious colouring the subjugation of

the empire to the dominion of demagogues and the tyranny of democrats.

Besides being strong in its own resources and in the right feeling of moderate men, Austria has received additional and timely vigour from the intestinal discords of other states, and from the signal defeat of the political charlatans who raised the outcry of German nationality, and organised the farce of a German federal parliament. The federal government has proved itself to be a mistake, and inefficiency has stamped its career, beginning with its first essay of promoting nationality in the Schleswig Holstein duchies. The confidence of its own admirers has been shaken, and the world confesses that the theories of professors and literati are little suited to practical government and the knowledge of men. Jealousies and confictions prevail within its walls, and the struggle is more for personal advancement than for national honour. The petty princes of Germany have awakened from their dream, and begin to perceive that they are intended to be mere units in the sum of political existence, while the larger powers, jealous of interference, watch for the propitious moment and a less excited state of affairs, to repudiate altogether the interposition of the heterogeneous assembly, whose power is as unreal as unrecognised, and which, unable to impose taxes, to appoint ministers to levy and to dispose of the proceeds of such taxes, or to au-

thorise any existing constituted authority to discharge that function, exists only as the embers of the revolutionary movement which started so simultaneously into life throughout Germany, from the spark kindled by the appeal of two rebellious duchies. Public opinion, which in Germany is decidedly in favour of monarchy, will ere long pronounce the doom which is due to the utopianism and arrogance of the Frankfort assembly.

The only solution to the difficulties which surround most of the European states, and involve the others in their relations, is the convocation of a great European Congress, the settlement of which would tend to infuse a healthy principle into the system, and to curb the morbid desire for innovation and change, which has been so successfully agitated from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Channel. Events have become too powerful to be dealt with by ordinary means; and if peace and order are to be re-established in Europe, realities must be grappled with, and all expediencies abandoned: the friends of order must advance in its defence, or it will become the prey of anarchists and mob-legislators, and bury kingdoms in its ruins.



# APPENDIX.

NOTE A, page 89.

*The Principal Schools of Utility (Realschulen) in the Austrian Dominions are : —*

	No.	Professors.	Students.	Pensioners.	Pension Money in Florins.	Total Cost in Florins.
Polytechnic Institution at Vienna	1	80	1104	4	150	59,628
" " at Prague	1	21	599	-	-	15,984
Mathematical School at Linz	1	1	50	-	-	300
School of Forestry at Marienbrunn	1	4	50	-	-	21,052
Schools of Utility at Trieste, Leopold, Brody, Rakonitz, and Reichenberg	5	44	285	2	258	30,419
Schools of Agriculture and Rural Economy at Olmütz, Brünn, and Kraumau	3	10	218	-	-	5,390
School of practical Chemistry at Milan	1	3	19	-	-	2,260
Schools of Languages at Linz and Salzburg	3	3	54	-	-	1,058
Schools of Mathematics on military frontiers	8	84	386	-	-	2,200
Mining school at Schminitz	1	7	178	55	-	11,500
Total	25	157	2898	61	403	149,741



## NOTE B, page 91.

*Gymnasiums in the Austrian Empire.*

	No.	Professors.	Students.	Pensioners.	Pension Money in Florins.	Total Cost in Florins.
Lower Austria - -	8	69	2026	94	3298	84,269
Upper Austria - -	3	24	743	39	1604	4,948
Bohemia - - -	22	174	5128	-	-	90,862
Moravia and Silesia - -	11	87	2766	107	2614	41,468
Gallicia - - -	13	107	3774	25	1284	88,918
Tyrol - - -	8	63	1543	90	4729	26,348
Styria - - -	4	28	807	44	1558	20,407
Carynthia and Carniola -	4	31	814	95	4017	10,103
Illyrian Coast - -	3	20	327	39	3827	14,628
Dalmatia - - -	8	22	823	-	-	19,658
Lombardy and Venice - -	27	223	6914	-	-	138,708
Transylvania - -	20	126	3657	-	-	18,607
Military frontier - -	2	11	306	12	892	5,488
<b>Total</b> - -	128	985	29,128	545	23,823	513,912
						Cost in English Money, 51,391 £.

## NOTE C, page 95.

*Establishments for the General and Special Education of Males and Females in the Austrian Dominions, not including those for Popular, Intermediate, and Superior Instruction.*

For Males.	No.	Professors.	Interns.	Externs.	Total.	Pensioners.	Pension Money in Florins.	Total Cost in Florins.
General -	103	869	6981	2912	9843	2581	561,069	1,220,421
Ecclesiastical -	59	337	3251	1071	4322	2531	555,018	715,558
Military -	40	557	3421	—	3421	2685	444,104	613,517
	202	1763	13,603	3983	17,586	7797	1,560,191	2,549,491
For Females -	100	739	4229	1029	5358	2537	379,680	668,316
For both Sexes	18	131	1510	3051	4561	4065	257,208	288,591
<b>General Total</b>	320	2633	19,342	8063	27,505	14,399	2,197,079	3,501,398
								Total Cost in English Money, 850,139 £.

*General Table showing the whole System of Education  
in Austria.*

	No.	Professors and Teachers.	Students.	Pensioners.	Pension Money in Florins.	Total Cost in Florins.
Popular Schools - -	31,120	40,025	2,338,985	—	—	2,795,791
Gymnasiums - -	128	985	29,128	545	28,823	513,912
Schools of Utility - -	24	150	2,715	6	403	138,241
Establishments in above Table - -	820	2633	27,505	14,399	2,197,079	3,501,498
Special Institutions - -	20	88	2235	171	18,820	140,113
Faculties and Academies	32	186	8652	87	6,257	153,169
Lyceums - -	5	81	1174	51	2,316	76,967
Universities - -	8	362	14,344	556	43,379	575,396
Total -	31,657	44,510	2,419,788	15,815	2,292,077	7,895,087
Total Cost in English Money, 789,508 L.						

The general establishments enumerated in the first table include the Theresanium, and the noble school at Innsbruck, the Academy of Oriental Languages, the Institute for Church Singing at Salzburg, the College for Rabbins at Padua, and for Unitarians at Klausenburg.

The female establishments include the schools of the Ursulines, and Sisters of Charity, those of different convents, and those for the education of the daughters of officers and *employés*.

The mixed schools for both sexes embrace the Deaf and Dumb Institutions, Orphan houses, and the School of Music, at Milan, &c.

Among the special institutions in the second table, are the Josephenian Academy for military surgeons, the Schools of Midwifery and Veterinary Surgery, and the Institution of Pious Ladies, at Chioggia.

## NOTE D, page 95.

*The eight Universities in the Austrian dominions are those at —*

	Professors.	Students.	Pensioners.	Pension Money in Florins.	Total Cost in Florins.
Vienna - - -	84	4,991	233	21,706	186,479
Prague - - -	63	3,479	36	1,988	72,355
Olmütz - - -	26	626	104	6,811	28,171
Leopol - - -	42	1,375	50	3,889	59,210
Innsbruck (No Faculty of Theology) - - -	23	814	70	3,993	27,853
Gratz - - -	28	864	46	2,067	26,866
Pavia - - -	60	1,362	17	2,975	75,331
Padua - - -	36	1,433	—	—	99,131
Total -	362	14,844	556	48,379	575,396
Cost in English Money, 57,589 L					

## NOTE E, page 124.

*Table showing the Archbishops and Bishops in the Austrian Empire.*

ARCHBISHOPS.	BISHOPS.
Vienna - -	St. Pölten, Linz.
Salzburg - -	Seckau, Leoben, Gurk, Lavant, Brixen, Trient.
Prague - -	Budweis, Königgrätz, Leitmeritz.
Olmütz - -	Brünn.
Lemberg - -	Przemisl, Tarnow.
Görz - -	Laihack, Trieste and Capo d' Istria, Parenzo and Pola, Veglia.
Milan - -	Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Lodi, Mantua, Pavia.
Venice - -	Adria, Belluno and Feltre, Ceneda, Chioggia, Concordia, Padua, Treviso, Udine, Verona, Vicenza.
Zara - -	Spalato and Macarsca, Ragusa, Sebenico, Lesina, Brazza and Lissa, Cattaro.
Gran - -	Fünfkirchen, Wesprim, Waizen, Raab, Neutra, Neusohl, Stein and Anger, Huhlweiszenburg, Siebenbürgen.
Colusca - -	Groszwardein, Csanad, Agram, Diakowar, Zengg and Modrusz.
Erlau - -	Kaschau, Rosenau, Zathmar, Zips.

The Vicar-generalships are those for Vorarlberg at Feldkirch, and for the Breslau diocese in East Silesia.

## NOTE F, page 136.

*Table of the Monastic Institutions in the various Provinces of the Empire.*

Among which are included that of the Somaskers, the 14 Basilian Monasteries of the Greek Church, and the 3 of the Mechitarists, with their Dependencies. Hungary has 175 Monasteries, and 11 Nunneries of the Romish Church. Among the Nunneries is 1 of Armenian Nuns, and 2 of the Basilian Order.

	Monasteries.			Nunneries.		
	No.	Priests.	Clerks and Laymen.	No.	Nuns.	Novices.
Province of Lower Austria -	49	562	336	7	186	119
Province of Upper Austria -	19	174	69	8	137	79
Styria -	22	145	140	3	67	19
Carynthia and Carniola -	11	88	34	4	95	28
Coast Land -	18	87	77	4	65	19
Tyrol -	57	488	341	19	287	215
Bohemia -	75	541	312	6	125	26
Moravia and Silesia -	34	202	147	4	48	18
Galicia -	73	307	289	15	143	49
Dalmatia -	54	231	118	8	38	6
Lombardy -	10	63	97	19	420	236
Venice -	27	284	324	15	286	164
Military Frontiers -	11	63	35			
Transylvania -	40	155	53	1	20	
Total -	500	3390	2372	118	1867	978

The Monasteries may be divided among the following Orders:—

		No. of Monasteries.			No. of Monasteries.
Augustines -	-	13	Crusaders -	-	1
Charitable Brethren -	-	20	Mechitarists -	-	4
Barnabites -	-	7	Minoritists -	-	36
Basilians -	-	15	Piarists -	-	36
Benedictines -	-	19	Philippinists -	-	7
Regular Canons -	-	14	Præmonstratenists -	-	7
Dominicans -	-	7	Redemptorists -	-	6
Regular Hermits -	-	30	Reformatists -	-	11
Franciscans -	-	3	Servitists -	-	18
Jesuits -	-	6	Terzianists -	-	6
Capucins -	-	86	Cistercians -	-	11
Carmelites -	-	8	Maltese -	-	1

Note G, page 199.

*Articles of War of the Austrian Army.*

I.

Whosoever shall mutiny and behave with violence towards his superior officer, whether such officer be struck or not, shall suffer death, as well in peace as in war ; and if such act of mutiny be committed publicly and openly, so that a mischievous effect may be produced on the service, the offender shall be tried by a court-martial.

II.

Whosoever shall disobey his superior officer, without proceeding to violence, but still in an insulting manner and with threatening gestures, or shall premeditatedly and with evil design impede him in the performance of his duties, shall be severely punished ; but in time of war, and according to the magnitude of the offence, particularly if evil consequences ensue, he shall be shot.

III.

Any officer who shall be the cause of an act of insubordination by unjust, inhuman, or cruel treatment towards his men, shall be punished with the utmost severity, according to the magnitude of his offence.

IV.

Whosoever shall perpetrate or assist in an act of murder, or shall have caused the same by any word or deed, shall in time of war be shot ; and if a riot should ensue therefrom, or have been on the point of ensuing, whether in time of war or peace, he shall be dealt with by a court-martial.

V.

Whosoever shall be guilty of treason, whether in war or in peace, shall be hung.

## VI.

Whosoever shall have an understanding with the enemy, as well as all spies and traitors with their accomplices, shall be hung.

## VII.

Whosoever, whether by word or deed, shall be guilty of irreverence towards God, to the occasion of public scandal, shall be severely punished.

## VIII.

Whosoever shall be guilty of perjury shall be severely punished ; and he who shall make a false oath with the intention of charging another person with an offence, and shall thereby have caused sentence of death to be passed on the accused, shall himself be capitally punished ; and all persons exciting others to swear a false oath, shall be subject to the same penalty.

## IX.

Whosoever shall offer resistance to any sentinel, patrol round, or *salva guardia*, shall be instantly shot.

## X.

Whosoever shall break guard when placed in arrest, shall be shot down, if no other means of preventing his purpose shall present themselves ; and if he can be otherwise secured, he shall be punished with the utmost severity : and whosoever shall assault a sentinel and fly, or shall be lurking suspiciously about posts of danger, particularly in the presence of the enemy, and shall refuse to answer the challenge, shall be shot.

## XI.

Whosoever, and the more especially if he be a sentinel on duty, shall afford the means of escape to any prisoner, shall be severely punished ; and if such prisoner shall be a state criminal or a noted offender, and shall have been given in charge of such sentinel, the same shall be shot.

## XII.

Whosoever shall sleep upon his post, or absent himself therefrom without being relieved, or shall be drunk when on guard, or avoid his duty, shall be most severely punished, and, in time of war, be shot.

## XIII.

The commandant of any fortress who shall surrender the same without having made the utmost defence, or who shall capitulate on dishonourable terms, shall be hung with infamy, together with every tenth man in the corps who shall have participated in the crime.

## XIV.

Whosoever shall hold traitorous or cowardly language with respect to the capitulation of any fortress, shall be dealt with according to the Articles of War, or by a court-martial, as the circumstances of the case may require.

## XV.

Whosoever shall refuse to face the enemy, or shall behave with cowardice in the field, or shall run away, shall be hung; and any officer witnessing such conduct and dreading the effect of the example on his men, is enjoined to cut the offender down.

## XVI.

If whole regiments shall fail in their duty at any engagement, or shall cowardly and traitorously abandon any field-work, redoubt, strong place, or other post, without having offered the most determined resistance, every tenth man, and every officer against whom the charge may lay, shall be hung, the regiments themselves shall be deprived of their colours, and the men drafted into other corps.

## XVII.

Whosoever shall be guilty of pillage in an enemy's country without authority, shall be severely punished; if it be with violence, he shall be tried by a court-martial; and if

the officer see no means of causing him to desist, he shall immediately cut him down.

## XVIII.

Whosoever shall forfeit his allegiance by desertion, and be captured by the military authorities, shall, according to the magnitude of the offence, and particularly if he shall have deserted before, suffer death on the gallows; and if he shall injure, with intent to kill, any person empowered to apprehend him, whether military or civil, he shall be sentenced by a court-martial.

## XIX.

Any soldier, who shall be guilty, whether he succeed or not, of urging his comrades to desert, shall receive the punishment awarded to a conspirator as well as to a deserter.

## XX.

Whosoever shall attempt to recruit for a foreign service, or shall carry off by force any Austrian subject for such a purpose, or shall seek to entice any soldier to settle in a foreign country, or shall compel him to do so, shall be tried by a court-martial, and suffer death by hanging.

## XXI.

Every contumacious offender shall be severely punished, and, in time of plague, whosoever shall break the sanatory cordon shall be shot, and whosoever shall pass through by force, or shall secretly effect the same, shall be tried by a court-martial, and be shot.

## XXII.

All soldiers shall keep their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition in perfect condition, and shall on no account pawn or sell the same, under the penalty of the severest punishment.

## XXIII.

All prisoners of war, all pieces of artillery, muskets,



ammunition, colours, standards, horses, waggons, treasure, documents, &c., taken from the enemy, shall be lodged in such places as the general commanding officer shall direct, under pain of the severest punishment.

## XXIV.

No person shall pass in or out of any fortress, strong place, or works, excepting by the regular avenues, under the heaviest penalty.

## XXV.

Whosoever shall wilfully injure any building, work, hedge, fruit-tree, field, meadow, garden, &c., whether in a friendly or a hostile country, shall be severely punished.

## XXVI.

All acts of open violence shall be severely punished, and in time of war, the offender shall be shot.

## XXVII.

Whosoever shall ill-treat the person on whom he may be billeted, or express himself offensively as to his rations, shall be severely punished.

## XXVIII.

Whosoever shall maltreat or strike any nobleman, public functionary, or person of acknowledged respectability, shall be severely punished; and any officer who shall have such an offence proved against him, shall be cashiered, and otherwise severely punished.

## XXIX.

All insults, challenges, and duels, and the seconds in such duels, shall be severely punished in conformity with the laws against duelling.

## XXX.

All murder, whether in war or in peace, shall be punished by hanging.

## XXXI.

Manslaughter shall be punished with the utmost severity, and, in war, according to the nature of the case, the offender shall be shot.

## XXXII.

Whosoever shall designedly, in the country of an ally, or without command or necessity in that of an enemy, set fire to any property, shall be hung.

## XXXIII.

All theft shall be severely punished ; and when the sum stolen shall exceed one hundred florins, or when the theft shall occur in time of war, the offender shall be hung.

## XXXIV.

Whosoever shall be guilty of stealing any pieces of artillery, ammunition, or other military stores, or shall take, with a felonious intent, the money of any regiment, squadron, or company, or shall embezzle any regimental money or stores committed to his charge, or shall steal, or allow to be stolen, any property placed in his custody ; the man who robs his comrade, the servant who robs his master, the thief who plunders at a fire or a flood, or at the time of any other domestic calamity ; the robbery by those who, from privilege of entrance, or from the nature of their business, cannot easily be looked after ; those robberies where the perpetrator goes armed with deadly weapons, or where he effects his purpose burglariously ; robberies in places dedicated to the worship of God, the sacrilegious theft of things consecrated to His service, and, finally, the robbery committed by a man who has been twice before convicted, shall, without reference to the amount and value, be punished with the utmost severity, and, in time of war, especially if the case be of an aggravated nature, the offender shall be hung.

## XXXV.

Robbery, whether in time of war or of peace, shall be punished by hanging.

## XXXVI.

Dishonourable frauds, such as forging, with a felonious intent, seals, deeds, and suchlike; the extortion of money for a debt already discharged; the breaking open or the suppressing of letters; and public cheating, shall be punished by hanging.

## XXXVII.

Whosoever shall issue or manufacture base money, shall be punished with the utmost severity; whosoever shall forge the notes of the bank, or other promissory notes, with implements made for the purpose, shall be hung, together with every accomplice in such crime.

## XXXVIII.

Any officer who shall falsely represent himself at any muster or review, shall be cashiered with public disgrace, and be further punished according to the magnitude of his offence.

## XXXIX.

Rape, incest, adultery, and other carnal offences, with seduction, and every offence not especially provided for in the Articles of War, shall be severely punished according to the military laws of the empire.

## XL.

Whosoever shall harbour or conceal any offender against these, the Articles of War, or any other denomination of criminal, shall be held as an accomplice, and be severely punished accordingly.

## NOTE H, page 213.

*Rate of Pay of the Armies of Austria, Würtemberg, and Baden.*

Rank.	AUSTRIA.			WÜRTTEMBERG.			BADEN.		
	MONTHLY PAY.								
	Conven- tion Money.	Rations.		Rhenish Money.	Rations.		Rhenish Money.	Rations.	
	Fl. Kr.	Bread.	Horse.	Fl. Kr.	Bread.	Horse.	Fl. Kr.	Bread.	Horse.
Colonel -	149 50	-	4	200 0	-	3	220 30	-	3
Lieut.-colonel -	110 15	-	3	150 0	-	2	175 0	-	2
Major -	93 0	-	3	150 0	-	2	150 0	-	2
Captain, 1st class -	75 0	-	-	100 0	-	-	150 0	-	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	-	-	-	125 0	-	-
" 3rd class -	50 0	-	-	75 0	-	-	83 20	-	-
1st Lieut., 1st class -	34 0	-	-	50 0	-	-	50 0	-	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	-	-	-	44 40	-	-
Lieutenant, 1st class -	30 0	-	-	40 0	-	-	44 40	-	-
" 2nd class -	25 0	-	-	28 0	-	-	20 15	-	-
Quartermaster -	-	-	-	83 19	-	-	66 40	-	-
Surgeon -	25 0	-	-	75 0	-	-	83 20	-	-
" Assist., 1st class -	19 0	1	-	-	-	-	33 20	-	-
" 2nd class -	14 0	1	-	15 30	-	-	20 15	-	-
Sergeant Major -	-	-	-	0 24	1	-	0 34	1	-
Sergeant, 1st class -	0 18	1	-	0 20	1	-	0 20	1	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 14	1	-
Corporal -	0 12	1	-	0 16	1	-	0 12	1	-
Band Master -	-	-	-	0 40	1	-	0 24	-	-
Regimental drummer -	-	-	-	0 24	1	-	0 24	-	-
Battalion ditto -	0 12	1	-	0 20	1	-	0 12	1	-
Hautboe, 1st class -	-	-	-	0 20	1	-	0 13	1	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	0 16	1	-	0 7	1	-
Bugler, 1st class -	-	-	-	0 20	1	-	0 13	1	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	0 16	-	-	0 10	1	-
Drummer, 1st class -	0 10	1	-	0 12	1	-	0 16	1	-
" 2nd class -	-	-	-	0 6	1	-	0 10	1	-
Exempt -	0 7	1	-	0 12	1	-	0 8	1	-
Private -	0 5	1	-	0 5	1	-	0 7	1	-
Provost -	0 18	1	-	0 20	1	-	0 14	-	-

An Austrian field-marshal receives 833 fl. 20 kr. monthly, with a yearly allowance of 12,000 fl. for table money.

A general commandant of ordnance has 666 fl. 40 kr. monthly, and 8000 fl. yearly for table money.

A lieutenant field-marshal 500 fl., with 8000 fl. table money.

A major-general, 333 fl. 20 kr.

A minister of war and a president of the council of war, 1000 fl. with 8000 fl. table money.

The pay of lieutenant and of captain lieutenant was on a very reduced scale till the year 1833, when an important alteration was made. At that period the 2d lieutenants had only 19 fl. per month, on which, according to the regulations laid down by Maria Theresa, he was to live *as a gentleman, and to keep his horses and carriage*, which was considered practicable in her time.

## Pay and Allowances of a Regiment in Germany, Hungary, and Transylvania.

	PEACE.										WAR.									
	Germany.				Hungary and Flat Country.				Transylvania and Galicia.				Bre-d.				Horse.			
	Monthly.		Daily.		Monthly.		Daily.		Monthly.		Daily.		Monthly.		Daily.		Monthly.		Daily.	
	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.	fl.	kr.
Inhaber	316	32	0	0	299	52	0	0	289	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	316	32	0	0
Colonel-Commandant	149	33	0	0	138	24	0	0	145	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	33	0	0
Lieut.-Colonel	110	9	0	0	102	23	0	0	107	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	110	9	0	0
Major	73	25	0	0	73	2	0	0	77	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	73	25	0	0
Chaplain	23	25	0	0	22	11	0	0	23	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	25	0	0
Chaplain & Secretary	34	43	0	0	32	33	0	0	33	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	43	0	0
Paymaster	25	31	0	0	24	4	0	0	25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	31	0	0
Adjutant	19	42	0	0	18	14	0	0	19	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	42	0	0
Surgeon	25	31	0	0	24	4	0	0	25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	31	0	0
Do. Upper Assist.	19	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0
Do. Under do.	14	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
Cadets	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Fourier	14	0	0	0	13	45	0	0	13	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
Regimental drummer	5	5	0	0	3	23	0	0	3	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0
Obdient	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Master of Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provost	25	31	0	0	24	18	0	0	25	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	31	0	0
Captain	71	42	0	0	65	33	0	0	69	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	42	0	0
Captain-Lieutenant	39	23	0	0	36	14	0	0	38	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	23	0	0
1st do.	26	48	0	0	25	9	0	0	26	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	48	0	0
2nd do.	22	37	0	0	21	9	0	0	22	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	37	0	0
Ensign	19	42	0	0	18	14	0	0	19	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	42	0	0
Sergeant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corporal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forier, Grenadiers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do. Fusiliers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drummer, Grenadiers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do. Fusiliers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exempt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barrackman, Grenad.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do. Fusiliers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Private, Grenadiers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do. Fusiliers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In garrison service the pay also varies in peace and war.

NOTE K, page 224.

*Composition of the Armies of Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse.*

## GRAND DUCHY OF HESSE.

	WAR ESTABLISHMENT.					PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.					Disciplined for Service but not called out.
	Officers.	Subalterns.	Men.	Horses.		Officers.	Subalterns.	Men.	Horses.		
				Officers.	Men.				Officers.	Men.	
General Staff -	10	4	-	57	1	10	4				
INFANTRY.											
2 Brigades -	172	602	5924	144	88	166	434	4320			840 men.
CAVALRY.											
1 Regiment of Guards -	38	108	1146	125	1177	39	108	529	-	629	159 men and 150 horses.
1 Company of Chasseurs -	2	10	61	8	62	2	9	28		37	11 cannon.
ARTILLERY.											
2 Foot Companies	10	34	250	22	-	8	28	144	-	-	11 horses.
Waggon Tram -	-	6	260	-	160	1	4	22	-	46	40 men.
Total	232	764	7641	356	1488	226	587	5043	-	702	59 men.

## GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN.

	WAR ESTABLISHMENT.			PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.			HORSES.		NON-EFFECTIVE.					
	Officers.	Subalterns.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Subalterns.	Rank and File.	War.	Peace.	WAR.			PEACE.		
									Officers.	Subalterns.	Men.	Officers.	Subalterns.	Men.
General Staff -	8	8	-	8	2	-	49	2	11	9	52			
INFANTRY.														
Divisional Staff -	2	1	-	2	1	-	15	-	-	1	11			
Brigade Do. -	2	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	8			
8 Regiments	226	1046	8517	181	910	6940	-	-	20	25	-	15	15	
CAVALRY.														
Brigade Staff -	3	2	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	9			
3 Regiments	78	208	1819	53	159	1284	2346	-	12	25	120	12	12	
ARTILLERY.														
Brigade Staff -	-	-	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4		
Foot Artillery -	-	-	-	16	52	602	-	73	-	-	-	-		
Pioneer Company	-	-	-	6	21	140	-	80	-	-	-	-		
				27	74	742		153				4		
	319	1267	10,336	275	1148	8966	2412	155	43	60	200	31	27	
	11,922			10,389					402			86		

## KINGDOM OF WÜRTTEMBERG.

	WAR ESTABLISHMENT.			PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.			HONOR.		NON EFFECTIVE.		
	Officers.	Subalterns.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Subalterns.	Rank and File.	War.	Peace.	Officers.	Subalterns.	Men.
Adjutants of the King, and members of council of war.	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Adjutants of minister of war.	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
General staff -	10	6	-	10	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pioneer company -	5	19	151	3	19	75	-	-	-	-	-
Life Guards -	-	-	-	5	29	118	-	46	1	3	-
<b>CAVALRY.</b>											
Chasseurs -	3	10	40	3	10	40	50	50	-	2	-
Divisional staff -	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brigade do. -	4	2	2	4	2	-	4	-	4	-	-
Four regiments of cavalry.	80	328	2192	64	248	1088	2520	1284	12	36	-
	89	341	2234	73	261	1128	2574	1334	16	38	1
Artillery staff -	3	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Do. one regiment	43	307	1070	34	206	470	322	156	4	11	23
Waggon train -	-	-	-	-	-	-	624	134	-	6	100
	46	308	1070	36	207	470	946	290	4	17	123
<b>INFANTRY.</b>											
Divisional staff -	8	2	-	4	2	-	-	-	4	-	-
Brigade do. -	12	128	-	8	88	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eight regiments	320	1512	12,224	176	1000	6400	-	-	16	48	-
	340	1642	12,224	188	1090	6400	-	-	20	48	-
Garrison companies -	-	-	-	7	30	174	-	-	2	3	-
Do. artillery -	-	-	-	5	22	94	-	-	2	26	-
Aggregate of officers -	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	494	2317	15,679	370	1665	8456	-	-	46	135	124
	18,487			10,491			3520 1770		405		

THE END.



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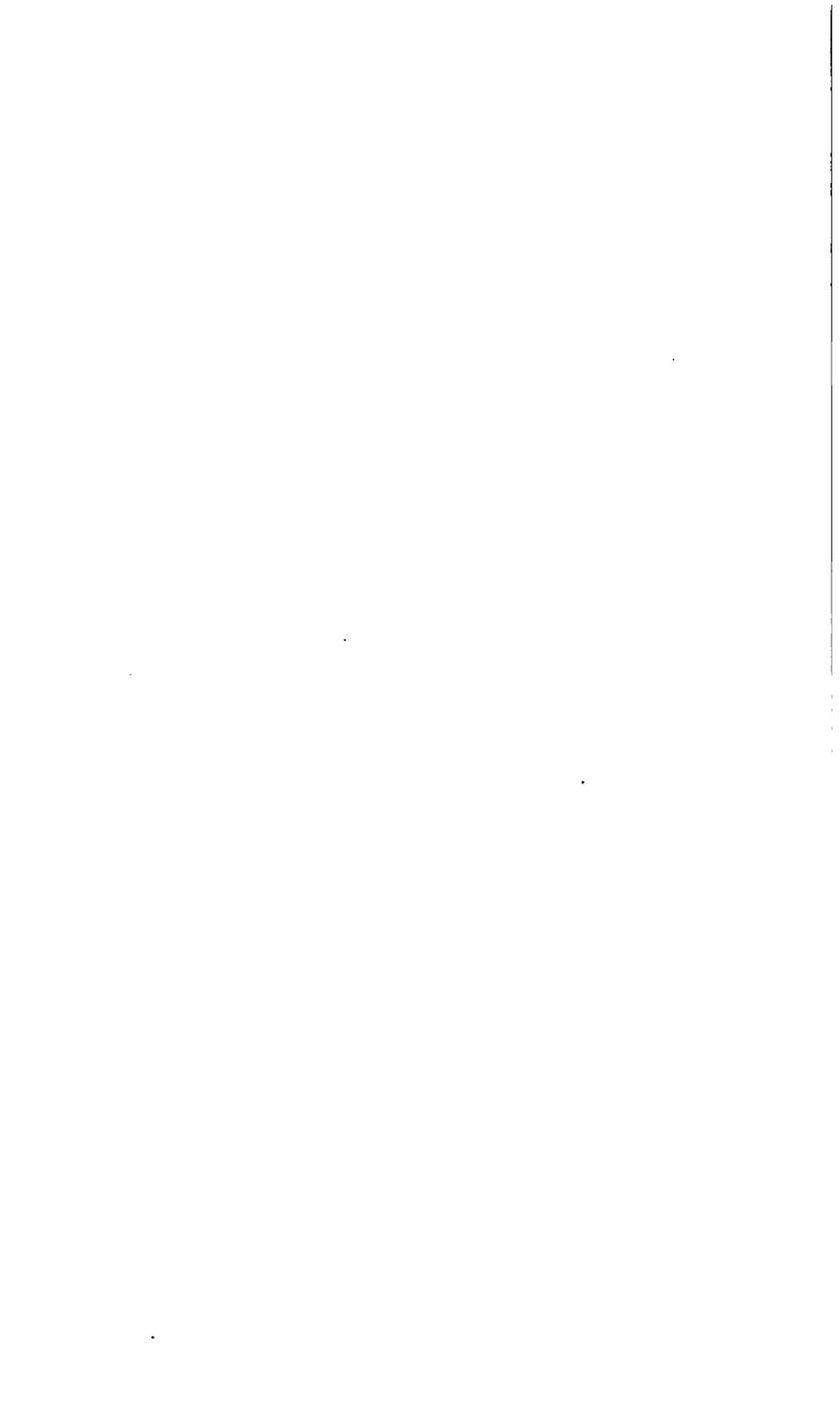
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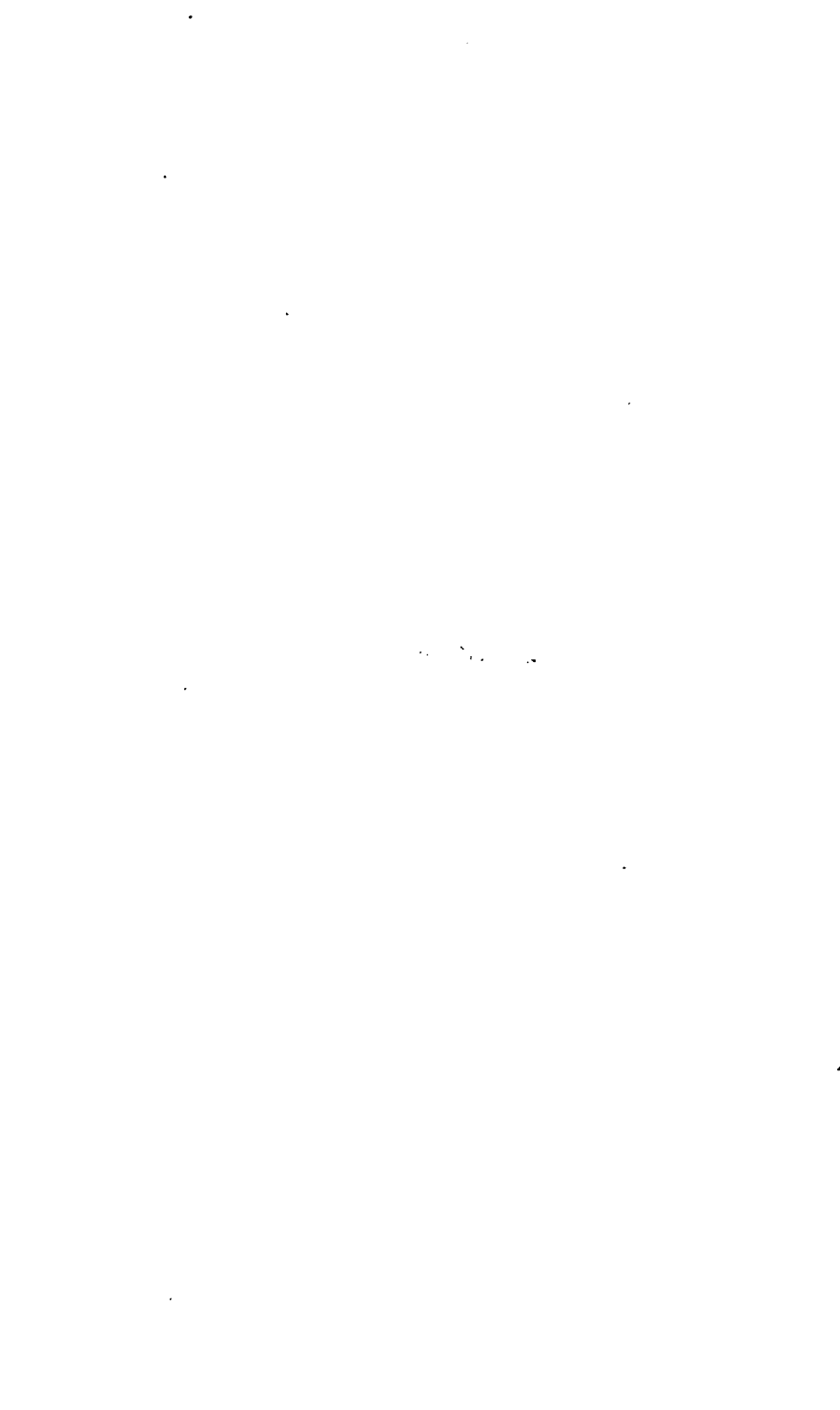
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